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THE RELIGION OF THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF TRAVANCORE

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WESTERMARCK defines religion as "a belief in, and a respectful attitude towards, a supernatural being on whom man feels dependent and to whose will he makes an appeal in his worship".[1] With primitive man "religion is a part of his custom. It is his whole custom. Between him and the unknown stands nothing but his custom."[2] The religion of primitive man in Travancore may be described as a system of animism or spiritism and his attitude to the supernatural is one of reverential fear in the presence of certain mysterious supernatural powers and beings and their propitiation or conciliation to avert ill-will.

The theory of animism divides itself into two great dogmas forming parts of one consistent doctrine, first concerning souls of individual creatures capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body; secondly, concerning other spirits upwards to the rank of deities.[3]

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[1] Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, Vol. II.

[2] Marret, *Anthropology*, p. 213.

[3] Risley, *The People of India*, p. 222.

Animism in its fullest development includes the belief in souls, in a future and in controlling deities and subordinate spirits, these doctrines practically resulting in some kind of active worship. The concept of personality is fluid and vague. No images of spirits are made and there are no temples. As for the village deities, one or more groves constitute their shrine. Stones are employed as symbols of deities among the Malayarayans.

The village priest is generally the headman who attends to the propitiation of village deities and spirits. The office is hereditary, the nephew succeeding to it. While it is the headman who officiates as priest among most of the tribes, there is a plāthi or medicine-man among the Kāṇikārs and Ūrāḷis who cures all the ailments and practises the black art. Propitiation is congregational and is intended to restore men's confidence, when shaken by crisis. Harmonious relations are maintained by supplications, prayers, offerings and sacrifices. The community as a whole, represented by the village elders, constitute the priesthood for the propitiation of the deities and spirits although the headman conducts the rites. The elders are the recognized custodians of tribal tradition and custom. The ideal of their life is to live on friendly terms with the gods and spirits, to possess sufficient lands, crops and cattle, to be free from debts, and to have enough to eat and live.

The hill-tribes of Travancore have a hierarchy of deities and spirits.

(1) The Sun.
(2) Ancestor Spirits.
(3) Village Deities and Spirits.
(4) Hunting Deities.
(5) Tramp Spirits.

I. Worship of the Sun

The worship of the sun is confined to the Muduvans. Every Muduvan worships it early morning daily by raising his hands to his face. It is probable that the worship of the sun may have at one time formed a prominent part of their religion,

The Kāṇikār calls the sun, Bhagavān and worships the same on Fridays. The sun is considered to be the creator of all and is reckoned as a female. Early at sunrise, he places in front of his hut a lighted lamp, fruits, beaten and fried rice. He then prays: "Oh Gods, pray accept this offering." He and his family then partake of the offerings. The Ūrāḷis recognize the sun as a creator of the universe and the father of all souls.

II. Ancestor Spirits

Ancestor-worship is one of the great branches of the religion of mankind. In India it comes to the surface in all directions and its principles keep up the social relations of the living world. According to Tylor, the dead ancestor now passed as deity goes on protecting his family and receiving suit from them as of old. Ancestors are therefore considered as kindly patron spirits at least to their own kinsfolk and worshippers.

Ancestor-worship is prevalent among most of the primitive tribes of Travancore. Among the Malayarayans of Central Travancore appear wide and deep traces of a surviving culture of ancestors. In the mountains inhabited by them are many tumuli or vaults called "Paundu-kuri". They stand north to south with a circular opening to the south. A round stone is fitted to this aperture with another acting as lever to prevent its falling out. The stones on the sides as well as at the top and bottom are single slabs. To this day they make similar little cells, the whole forming a box a few inches square, and on the death of a member of a family, the spirit is supposed to pass, as the body is being buried, into a brass or similar image which is shut in the vault. A few offerings of milk, rice and toddy, and ghee are made, a torch is lighted, the figure is placed inside the cell, and the cover-stone hastily placed on. All then leave. On the anniversary day, similar offerings are made. The stone is lifted off and hastily closed. The spirit is supposed to be enclosed. None venture to touch the cell at any other time.[4] The Malayarayans of the present

[4] Matur, *Native Life in Travancore.*

day do not erect dolmens over the dead. Ancestor-worship is now confined to persons who are killed by a tiger or who meet with unnatural death, as their spirits are considered to influence the life of the living in a mysterious manner. This will be dealt with separately.

Among the Kāṇikārs, ancestor spirits go by legion. Sangan Perumāl Muthan, Nīlambi Muthan, Muthāla Muthan, Ēcha Muthan and others make up 101 spirits of ancestors. When a man is terrified by wild animals like bears or wild elephants, he at once comes back and solicits the aid of plāthi (medicine-man), who takes some small pebbles and places five stones in a row in honour of Gaṇapathi. He then holds some pebbles in his right hand and drops them in pairs into his left hand to ascertain whether Ēcha Muthan is responsible for the incident. If an even number remains in the right hand after dropping four pairs of pebbles, the medicine-man concludes that Ēcha Muthan is responsible for it. If an odd balance remains in the right hand, the same process is repeated to ascertain whether Pulichāvu is responsible. In this manner is found out the true spirit responsible for the incident. These spirits are propitiated by offerings to Pulichāvu, Ānachāvu and Pāmbuchāvu to intercede on behalf of the terrified man and save his children from trouble.

The Muduvans make offerings to ancestors in Thye (January-February). A pongal is offered by the side of clothes, beads, rings and bangles. Clothes are to propitiate male ancestors, and bangles and beads, female ancestors. The prayer is to the effect, "Oh parents, grand-parents, and great grand-parents, protect us. We shall propitiate you every year."

The Vishavans make offerings to ancestor spirits, the day before they depart from the cultivated area to the river side. Each man gives one measure of paddy. All the rice is cooked, laid on leaves, and offered to ancestor spirits along with arrack, tobacco and fried rice. Intoxicants and stimulants are frequently objects of veneration. The deification of drink is due to its exhilarating and invigorating effects.

It is plain in our times that the dead still receive worship from the larger half of mankind. Spencer and Grant think that the worship of the dead is the root of every religion. The spirits of the dead are worshipped, because they are capable of influencing the welfare of the living in a mysterious manner.

III. Village Deities and Spirits

Men distinguish between two classes of phenomena, natural and supernatural, between the phenomena they are familiar with, and in consequence ascribe to natural causes and the other phenomena which seem to them unfamiliar, mysterious and therefore supposed to spring from causes of a supernatural character. We meet with this distinction at the lower stages of culture known to us as well as higher stages. Mystery is the essential characteristic of supernatural beings.

The worship of the spirits of particular local hills or other awe-inspiring natural objects falls under this category. The existence of an indwelling spirit is dimly recognized and in others an immanent power or mysterious energy of the nature of man is believed to be in those. The worship of this class of supernatural powers is said to stand between religion and magic.

The Malayarayans worship five eminences, Thalapāramala, Āzhamala, Puthiamala and Savampāramala. They do not separate the spirit from the matter, but adore the thing in its totality as a divine being.

The gods of the Kāṇikārs are legion. The Kāṇikār assumes that all about him are ma levolent spirits that cause misery. Where life is mainly one of struggle, man is ever on the watch against malice-working agencies, and it is his fear that moves him to enter into his religious observances. All the rites and ceremonies of the Kāṇikār are intended to placate them, and their propitiation forms the corner-stone of his religion. The Kāṇikārs of Kottūr and those in the vicinity go to Agastiar peak in Kumbhom and stay there for four days before full-moon. On the first day, they reach the peak in the evening. Next day, they bathe in a tank and make their

offerings of raw rice and tender cocoanuts and pray, "We are living on Agastiar hill and we need your help. We have none but you. We live in the jungle. May we enjoy your protection!"

The Uḷḷādans also make an annual offering to Thalapāramala, Udampāramala, and Chakkipāramala. The offering consists of fruits, beaten rice, milk, sugar, molasses and is made on one of the hills. They believe that it is due to the help they receive from them that they are able to live in the jungle without molestation.

The Hill-Pandārams dread the jungle deities. If a Hill-Pandāram gets polluted, he bathes and then alone gets into the jungle. The Hill-Pandārams of Thalapāra worship crests of hills, Kotangi, Vēttamala, Kōttamala and Muthanmala. They make a respectful bow when they pass by them, and say, "Oh hills, save us from mishaps".

The Muduvans of the Cardamom hills worship the following sylvan deities, Kōttamalaswami and Vadaganāthaswami, who are supposed to take their abode on crests of hills. They are regarded with reverence and their propitiation consists in a respectful attitude, when passing by their reputed haunts.

The Paḷiyans of Vandamēt worship a deity of rock on an eminence called Lalasanyasi, who is propitiated in April with offerings of cocoanut, plantains, betel and nuts. Women are debarred from attending the ceremony. The Malankuravans also make offerings to eminences like Thalapāramala, Udampāramala and Thevalapāramala. The Ūrāḷi makes the offering.

Traces of animism exist among the Mannāns. As the process of clearing the jungle involves a disturbance of the spirits residing there, a portion of the jungle is dedicated to them as their haunt, and passers-by make a respectful obeisance by a discriminating bow even to this day.

We find a replica of this custom in all parts of the world. Among the American Indians, Dorman points out that remarkable features in natural scenery or dangerous places become

objects of superstitious regard and veneration, because they are supposed to be the abode of gods. A high mountain or an isolated peak is looked upon with superstitious respect and propitiated with offerings.

IV. Hunting Spirits

The hunting spirits would come under this category. When a party of Muduvans return with the spoils of the chase, the carcase is suspended over fire for the removal of hair. In the case of black monkey, its liver, hands and feet are cut into slices separately. These are then pierced by fine thin stakes. They are then roasted by being suspended over fire and are then placed over a leaf. The following prayers are then offered: "Just as my parents, grand-parents and their ancestors went in quest of food and lived by the spoils of the game, I wish the same luck for myself. If I am blessed, I shall offer you a share of the spoils before they are tasted by anybody else." The slices are then distributed among those present on the spot. The remaining portion is then divided equally among all the village folk.

The Kāṇikārs also propitiate the hunting spirits before they go ahunting. Sankaramalla Muthan, Pulichāvu and Patanāya Muthan are some of them. When an animal is killed, the skin is first peeled off. The heart and lungs are cut into slices, roasted in the fire, and then placed on leaves. They are intended as offerings for ancestor spirits and hunting spirits. All bathe and pray as follows:—"When we get into the jungle, pray let us have game easily. If you do not kill and give them to us, we will conclude there are no Muthans." The slices are then eaten by those who are there. The remaining flesh is divided equally among all the village folk.

It is interesting to observe that an analogous custom of giving the same offering to the hunting deity prevails among the Uḷḷādans of Travancore, the Oraons of Chota Nagpur and others.

V. Tramp Spirits

Tramp spirits include mischievous spirits of persons dying an unnatural death. Pandārachāvu (spirit of one dying of

small-pox), Aruvāḷachāvu, Nayat Aruvāḷa and Murthi are some of the tramp spirits of the Uḷḷādans. An offering of fried rice, flesh of sambhar, fowl, arrack and toddy, is made in front of the yard of the afflicted person. The priest gets into a fit and holds the tuft of the afflicted person who also gets into a fit. He then utters, "I shall leave this person". All then partake of the offerings.

Among the Malayarayans, a metallic effigy continues to be made of a person meeting with an unnatural death. A small box of stone is made of verticals and a capstone. It is erected on elevated ground and is open in front on ceremonial days. The metallic image is placed inside it. It is worshipped on Sankramom days in Vrischigom and Medom annually.

Startling events are ascribed to the activity not only of visible but of invisible supernatural agents; sudden or strange diseases are at the lower stages of culture commonly supposed to be occasioned by a supernatural being, which has taken up its abode in the sick person's body, or otherwise sent the disease. The Muduvans are worshippers of malevolent deities like Karuppu, Māriamma and Kāḷi, whose business is to bring drought, disease and death. They are propitiated to protect the people from small-pox. The priest may be a woman at times.

Influence of Hinduism

Hinduism may be described as animism more or less transformed by philosophy, or to condense the epigram still further, as magic tempered by metaphysics. According to Lyall, Hinduism may be roughly described as the religion of all the people who accept the Brahmanic Scriptures.[5]

The Muduvans of Travancore show signs of the influence of Hinduism on their religion. They worship God Subramonia. In each village is a thatched shed put up away from the habitations. Inside is a bamboo thatti over which are placed a cane and a bundle of peacock's feather. These are emblematic of God Subramonia, who is known as Paḻaniyāndavar.

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[5] Risley, *The People of India*, p. 233.

The Malayarayans, the Mannāns and the Kāṇikārs have modified their animistic practices in the direction of orthodox Hinduism. It is a very interesting fact that all the hill-tribes worship Sāsta, whose worship betrays many features of animistic practices from start to finish.

On their march to Śabarimala, votaries of Sāsta offer fried rice and molasses to the crags on the bed of the Peruthode stream. These are supposed to be the resting places of Sāsta and his followers. Another custom refers to the worship of all stones on the way from Kōttapadi to Śabarimala. The natural object is worshipped, because it is believed to possess supernatural power, but it is nevertheless the object itself that is worshipped. In other words, they do not separate the spirit from the matter, but adore the thing in its totality as a divine being.

On reaching the Azhutha river, the votaries camp there for the night. The river is worshipped as a deity, which fills their imagination and receives their homage. At Kallidamkunnu, all the Kanni Ayyappans throw a pebble on the crest of the hill. This is intended to press down the personality of Asura, who haunts there, so that he may not come out and do harm to them. The animist who endows an inanimate object with a soul regards the visible thing itself as its body. He finds it easier to worship a material thing which may be seen than a hidden god, however perfect in shape.

According to Robert Briffault, the function of primitive religion is much more direct, concrete and practical. It is not to interpret life, but to obtain those things which are reckoned needful to its existence.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SANSKRIT DRAMA

BY K. KRISHNAMACHARYA, B.A., L.T.

ANY attempt to probe into the probable origin of the Sanskrit drama must of necessity involve us in conjectures, since the earlier stages of its development are shrouded in mystery. The oldest of the dramas now available to us—the fragments of Aswaghōsa and the works of Bhāsa—show a definite stage of perfection which presupposes a development of the art for some centuries earlier. What it was in those early ages is not now possible of assertion with any degree of certainty. The attempts of many an Oriental scholar to build up, from its very inception, a history of the Sanskrit drama on the analogy of that of the Greek drama, have so far been productive of no irrefutable results. In most of the hymns of the Rig-Vēda which are of the nature of dialogues or monologues —and there are over a score of them—a good many of these scholars read a type akin to the mystery-plays of the Greeks, and thereby formulate their theories of the origin of the Sanskrit drama. Almost every subsequent writer of note has either totally demolished or considerably modified the theories of his predecessors and built up his own instead.

Many of these critics do not seem to realize that the hymns of the Vēda are not all of them necessarily of a religious character. That some of them may be secular in character they refuse to believe, in their anxiety to establish a religious origin for the drama and trace the same to the Vēdic hymns. For instance, the hymn of Viswāmitra (III. 33), of Vasishta (VII. 33), the frog hymn (VII. 103), the gambler's hymn (X. 34) and the like cannot be treated as anything but secular. The later ritualistic literature, while appropriating almost all the religious hymns for some sacrificial or ritualistic purposes, has left alone the secular hymns. This is itself a proof of some of the hymns collected in the Rig-Vēda being treated as secular in character by the

ancient sages themselves. Without its being necessarily religious, the dialogue or monologue was but a variety of poetic composition indulged in by the Rig-Vēdic poets. In some form or other it persisted down into the classical period and found its fruition in the drama.

Other scholars trace the origin of the Sanskrit drama to some fertility rites like those of other Indo-Germanic peoples, and see in the simple satirical hymns (like the frog hymn) a rain or a vegetation charm. Though their conclusions have not as yet commanded general approval they are at least on a firmer ground than those who see Vēdic mysteries in the dialogistic hymns.

Others again have adopted the easier solution of a Greek origin for the Sanskrit drama, avoiding the necessity of analysing the ancient literature of the land in order to trace out in it the elements that directly go to make the drama. There are, of course, some points of similarity between the Greek and the Indian dramas, such as the division into acts, the unity of action and the central conflict; but the points of dissimilarity are many and formidable. The tragedy of Greek poets is simply unknown to the Sanskrit poets—rather, it is foreign to their genius. A mere ending in sorrow does not make a tragedy, unless that sorrow is on the side of the hero. Sanskrit poets who intend their drama to be an instrument of instruction on some aspect of the eternal Dharma, cannot conceive of any victory of the unrighteous over the righteous. Therefore, though sometimes their dramas, as in *Ūrubhanga* of Bhāsa, end in sorrow, care is taken to see that it is always on the side of the rival hero, so that the end of the drama is in fact the happiness of the real hero. The Greek unities of time and place have no place in the Sanskrit drama. Again, the use of Prākritic dialects in the latter has no parallel in the former. The *Prasthāvana* of the Sanskrit drama has nothing in common with the prologue of the Greek drama.

Having all the elements like recitation, song, dance and

representation in its own literature, no nation waits for an external impetus to bring the elements together and evolve its drama. It may be that the Greek impact has been responsible for certain embellishments of the drama; but even here one cannot be positive as to which particular embellishment is directly traceable to the Greek influence.

Finally, it might not be impossible for two peoples of the same stock, even though separated by ages and living far apart, to evolve their own dramas under almost similar conditions, without the necessity of the one borrowing from the other at any stage of its development. This might possibly account for the accidental coincidences, side by side with the fundamental differences.

On the Indian side, there is an interesting tradition on the origin of the drama preserved in the pages of the *Nātya Sāstra*, a work commonly ascribed to an ancient sage Bharata. That the extant *Nātya Sāstra* is not the earliest of its kind is easily seen; for it quotes here and there with approval traditional (अनुवंश्य) verses of Slōka or Ārya metre, and some from a Sūtra literature (सूत्रानुबद्ध) on the subject; at times it also refers to other authors whom it simply designates as केचित्. It may be that most of the verses quoted are the genuine ones from the original work of Bharata of which the extant work may be but an adaptation. It may also be that the Sūtra mentioned refers to some such *Nātasūtras* as those of Silalin and Krisaswa quoted by Pāṇini. For want of sufficient facts our conclusions must of necessity be mere conjectures.

Now to the tradition. The four Vēdas being confined to the *Trai-varnas*, all the gods headed by Indra approached Brahma and requested him to create a fifth Vēda, interesting and instructive at once, to which the fourth varna too might have easy access. Brahma acceded to their prayer, went into a contemplative mood and created the *Nātya Vēda*. To this end he laid the four earlier Vēdas under contribution. From the Rig-Vēda he took recitation; from the Sāma Vēda the song; from the Yajus dance or representation; and from the Atharvan the rasas.

जग्राह पाठ्यमृग्वेदात्सामभ्यो गीतमेवच ।
यजुर्वेदादभिनयान् रसानाथर्वणादपि ॥

Having created the *Nātya Vēda* he intended it as an instrument of instruction for the elevation of all generations to come. He taught the fifth Vēda to sage Bharata and directed him to entertain the gods with a performance on the occasion of Indra's banner festival (ध्वजमहोत्सव)—an occasion when the success of Indra over his foes (the Asuras) was to be celebrated. The story selected was the defeat of the Asuras at the hands of Indra. At this the Asuras were naturally enraged and created disturbance. The actors stood spell-bound on the stage; they forgot their parts and could neither speak nor move. Indra had to take up his mace and deal adequately with all the disturbing elements. When order was restored, the gods ran up to Brahma and informed him of the disturbances to their merriment from the Asura quarters. Viswakarman was then called in and ordered by Brahma to erect a play-house (नाट्यमंदिर). When it was ready for occupation, all the gods were required to contribute their share in protecting the play-house from further disturbances, both in and out.

Seeing their attempts thus thwarted, Virūpāksha, the leader of the disturbing party, protested that Brahma, from whom they too were descended as were the gods, was unduly partial to the latter. The accusation went home, and Brahma effected a compromise and tried to appease his irritant children. He prescribed that the stories to be represented on the stage shall be not only of gods, but also of Asuras, kings and Brahmarishis, and they must aim at some elevating instruction for the world at large.

लोकोपदेशजननं··········
देवानामसुराणां च राजलोकस्य चैवहि ।
ब्रह्मर्षीणां च विज्ञेयं नाट्यं वृत्तान्तदर्शकम् ॥

He made it plain that the *Nātya Vēda* he had created was not to be an exclusive privilege of the gods, but must be equally shared by Asuras and men as well. He assured Virūpāksha that the *Nātya Sāstra* had laid under contribution every

conceivable science and art, so that no science or art that did not contribute to it deserved its appellation.

न तच्छ्रुतं न तच्छिल्पं न सा विद्या न सा कला ।
नासौ योगो न तत्कर्म यन्नाट्येऽस्मिन्न लक्ष्यते ॥

The discontented party was pleased and the full-fledged drama with its *Nātya Mandira* came into vogue.

Now this tradition cannot be lightly dismissed as something fictitious. Traditions generally contain some historic truths deeply imbedded in them. The mass of weedy growth around such truths sometimes baffles all attempts to analyse the tradition and make it bring out the truths into view. To our limited vision this tradition seems to yield some historic facts connected with the development of the drama. They are given below for what they are worth.

The Rig-Vēda is essentially of hymns intended to recite, and hence it is a Vēda of recitation; the Sāma Vēda, of hymns set to music, and therefore, a Vēda of song; in the Yajur Vēda we find that in celebrating certain rituals the priests had to assume the rôle of gods—in other words, they represented gods in certain ceremonies; and hence representation came first into vogue in Yajur Vēda. Even in our own day we have recourse to this kind of representation in performing Pitr-srāddhas. We invite three Brahmans to represent respectively the departed Pitris, the All-Gods (विश्वेदेवाः) and Vishnu. No ritual of importance can be undertaken without Brahma being invoked to preside. If possible, a Brahman is made to represent Brahma and in his absence the *Kusa Grass* does the function. The sacrificer invokes the Creator with the words अस्मिन् कर्मणि ब्रह्माणं त्वां वृणीमहे and makes offerings into the fire with his sanction (ब्रह्मन् इध्ममाधास्ये).

Scholars are agreed that our Srāddha ceremonies have an enviable continuity, unbroken from the remotely dim Vēdic ages down to our own day. We may therefore take it that the principle of representation (अभिनय) *i.e.*, assuming the character of an individual other than oneself, came into use in the Yajur Vēda.

The Atharvana Vēda consists to a large extent of hymns of sorcery, spells and incantations; and these have directly to do with emotions like love, anger, fear, hatred, disgust, pity and so on. Rasa, which partakes of an æsthetic nature, is but an impersonal, detached relish of these emotions exhibited on the stage. Hence, perhaps, the dramatic rasas are traced back to Atharvana Vēda as their original source.

The dramatic elements and their order of derivation from the four Vēdas seem to indicate a sequence in the gradual development of the drama. Here and there in the Vēdic literature one meets with cryptic passages, which appear to point to a sequence in the emergence of the Vēdas themselves. (ऋचस्सामानि जज्ञिरे । ······यजुस्तस्मादजायत ।····) We, therefore, venture to infer that in its embryonic stage the drama was but recitation like that of our Paurānikas. Music next stepped into the field and classes, perhaps remotely resembling our Harikatha Bhāgavatas, came into view. At some later stage, representation contributed its share, and the then drama was perhaps a remote ancestor of our present-day yātras and street-plays. With the discovery of rasa and its development, the soul of the kāvya was in evidence, and the full fledged drama emerged as a perfected work of art.

The Dēvas and Asuras of the tradition seem to indicate the cultured classes and the unlettered masses of the populace. Before the discovery of rasa as the soul of drama, the dramatic performances were perhaps crude and were in the nature of popular mimes. There was no stage as such, and any open ground suited the purpose as with the street-plays of our own times. With the discovery of rasa, the cultured classes improved the drama, and claimed perhaps its exclusive possession. The unlettered masses naturally resented and created occasional disturbances to their performances. The necessity for an enclosure was felt and play-houses came into existence, to which admission of the masses depended upon the pleasure of the classes. The masses came to terms and a compromise was effected. Public play-houses came into vogue to which the masses too had occasional access.

Thus the drama developed in two separate channels, one with the masses and the other with the classes. There were occasional exchanges on either side. The drama of the masses, though persisting down through ages maintaining its own characteristics as seen in our street-plays, seems to have given the cultured classes their Bhana, Anka, Vîdhi, and other such types of admittedly inferior mould; while that for the cultured classes developed itself in all its aspects of the plot, the characters, the rasa and so on, and culminated in the types of decidedly superior mould, like Nātaka (including Nātika) and Prakarana which have elements of almost all the minor types going into their frame work.

This much we seem to see in the tradition recorded in the pages of the *Nātya Sāstra.* Thus the *Sāstra* appears to supply us an indirect evidence as to the origin and development of the Sanskrit drama. But the *Sāstra* itself, not being of any considerable antiquity, is not expected to render us help by way of any direct evidence in this regard. It came into existence long after the drama with its ten types was a settled fact. The types themselves presuppose the development of the eight rasas, the five sandhis and the four vrittis,—subjects treated at some length in the *Nātya Sāstra.* And what might be the probable age of the *Nātya Sāstra,* so that in reference to it the upper limits of the developments of the drama could be fixed with some degree of certainty?

In the *Nātya Sāstra,* the science of rhetoric has its crude beginnings. The *Sāstra* speaks of only four figures of speech—*Upama, Deepaka, Rupaka* and *Yamaka*—and knows no more. उपमा दीपकं चैव रूपकं यमकं तथा । काव्यस्यैतेह्यलंकाराश्चत्वारः परिकीर्तिताः (XVI. 41.) Its treatment of *Upama* and its varieties is rather crude; *Yamaka,* on the other hand, has a more scientific treatment. The latter-day distinction between the *Arthālankāras* and the *Sabdālankāras* does not appear to have been recognized as such. The earliest of the Ālankārikas known to us is Bhamaha, and his treatment of the Alankāras is more elaborate and scientific than in the *Nātya Sāstra.* One must therefore allow some centuries of development for the science of

rhetoric, from the *Nātya Sāstra* to Bhamaha. Scholars generally accord the fifth century A.D., to Bhamaha, which gives to the *Nātya Sāstra* the third or the second century at the most.

Now, if the drama had its full development about the beginnings of the Christian era, we have to go elsewhere for any direct evidence that might throw some light on the probable stages of its development. As already has been seen, the fragments of Aswaghōsa and the works of Bhāsa presuppose centuries of development of the dramatic art before it could reach the height seen in those works.

While commenting on the Pāṇinian sūtra हेतुमज्ज्ञा (III. 1-26) Patānjali discusses the propriety of using the present to describe a remotely past event, and cites as an illustration the cases of Çaubhikas, painters and grandhikas representing the binding of Bali and the killing of Kaṁsa, as though they were just happening before the very eyes of the spectators (*Mahābhāshya*, III. 1). Some scholars opine that the Çaubhikas were but actors in a pantomime and the grandhikas were story-tellers in costume; others are inclined to view that the Çaubhikas were those who explained the pantomime to the audience, while the grandhikas were but kathakas, pure and simple. But Patānjali himself speaks of the grandhikas applying colours to their faces in order to represent themselves as of the party of Vāsudēva or of Kamsa. This leaves us in no doubt as to the grandhikas being themselves actors. Here we have some sort of direct evidence as to the existence of the drama in some form or other, and of troops of actors, about the times of Patānjali. Add to this the *Nātasutras* mentioned by Pāṇini; and we carry the drama to about the fifth century B.C. Further than this it is not now possible to proceed for want of adequate materials.

There is one other tradition preserved in the works of our great dramatists, Kālidāsa, Srī Harsha, and Bhavabhūti. They introduce an interlude in some of their dramas, where women are represented to have staged some stories. In his *Vikramōrvasīya*, Kālidāsa speaks of a drama, *Lakshmīswayamvara*, played by Apsara women in the court of Indra, Ūrvasi

appearing on the stage in Lakshmi's character; in *Priyadarsika*. Vāsavadatta is said to have been entertained by her maids-of-honour who staged *Udayanacharitra*; again in *Uttara Rāma-charitra*, Bhavabhūti describes Vālmīki's entertainment of his guests by staging the history of Sīta from the moment of her desertion by her lord. In all these cases women alone are represented to have been the actors. Now, if the practice were not in vogue, at least in the royal harems, the poets would not have made a literary use of it in their dramas. If there existed a prejudice, we believe it did, against women acting on the stage, how did it come about that the royal ladies escaped the odium, and were even encouraged by their spouses to enact some drama or other within the harem?

We think the age of prejudice was about the beginnings of the drama when men and women seem to have actually participated on the stage—a view to which the *Prasthāvana* lends some support. As a consequence of the mixing of actors of either sex on the stage, there was every possibility of the danger of their morals becoming loose, especially for the gentler sex. Reproachful terms like जायाजीवा: as applied to the actors had perhaps their own significance. Women had to withdraw, and the prejudice was in time got over. This accounts for the earlier canons of the Buddhists and Jain monks prohibiting their order from witnessing dramatic performances, and for the later practice of the monks like Aswaghōsha selecting the dramatic form as a suitable instrument for propagating the tenets of their religion.

When the actors were all women as on the royal stages, there was no reason for the prejudice to persist any longer. It is possible that, while in the hands of the cultured royal ladies, the drama received some finer touches. To this end, the court poets who wrote dramas had them staged perhaps within the royal harem, before they were sent out to the public stages of towns and cities. May it thus be that the drama of the cultured found its final fruition in the works of master-minds like *Kālidāsa* and *Bhavabhūti*?

JAIN VESTIGES IN THE PUDUKOTAH STATE

[The Pudukotah Museum Plate of the Twenty-four Tirthankaras.]

BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, M.A., L.T.

AND

K. VENKATARANGAM RAJU

JAINISM is known to have existed in Southern India since historical times. The natural caverns, which have been discovered, sometimes with a few inscriptions in *brahmi* script, are connected with the Jains and form the earliest stone-monuments of the Tamil land, and are perhaps the precursors of the Hindu rock-cut cave temples—Śiva and Viṣṇu—of the days of the Pallavas.

Till about the seventh century A.D., Jainism had a large following in Southern India; and it seems to have flourished in friendly rivalry with Buddhism and Hinduism, till the Hindu sectarian movements—Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite—reclaimed the Jains back to the Hindu fold. The Jain faith lost its hold on the masses as the Hindus, by absorbing the main features of the rival religion, drove the Jains to a comparatively insignificant place in the Tamil land. But, in spite of such absorption into the Hindu fold, and the alleged persecution in the days of Gñānasambhanda, Jainism seems to have survived in sufficient measure and strength so as to play a distinguished rôle in the history of Southern India till almost the end of the thirteenth century. And it is the Muhammadan invasions that have been largely responsible for the disappearance of the Jaina sects and their monuments in this part of India.

Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson observes, "The Mohammedans found in the Jaina temples not only quarries from which to steal ready-made the pillars for their mosques, but, as it were, garments for the expression of religion that could be made over for their use. As easily as an elder sister's clothes are cut up and altered for the use of the younger, so conveniently were Jain temples transformed for the appropriation of the

newest arrival on the Indian scene. All that the victorious Mohammedans had to do was to make slight structural alterations." Then she quotes the following paragraph from Fergusson :—*

"By removing the principal cell and its porch from the centre of the court and building up the entrances of the cells that surrounded it, a courtyard was at once obtained, surrounded by a double colonnade, which always was the typical form of a mosque. Still one essential feature was wanting—a more important side towards Mecca; this they easily obtained by removing the smaller pillars from that side, and re-erecting in their place, the larger pillars of the porch, with their dome in the centre; and if there were two smaller domes, by placing one of them at each end."

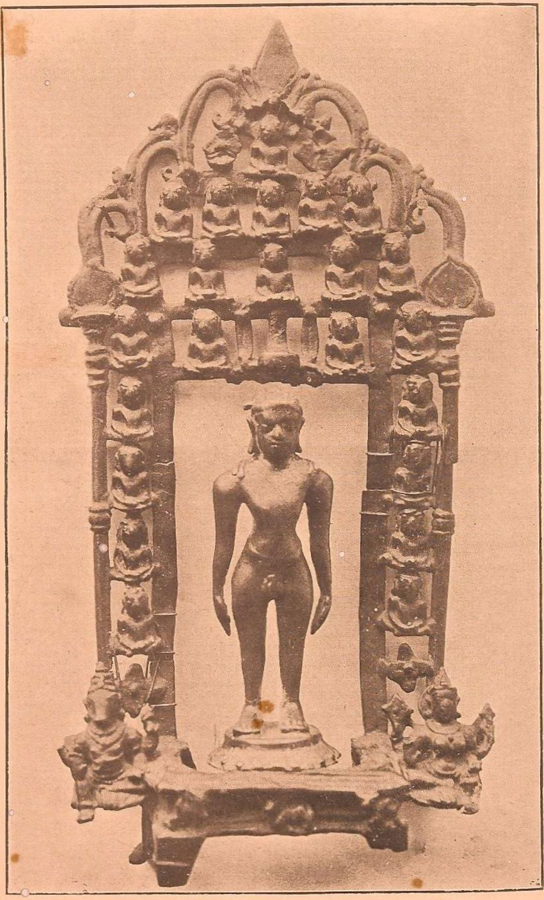
Thus the Muhammadan invasion seems to have had a large share not only in the destruction of the Jaina monuments, but also in the suppression of the individuality of the Jaina religion.

There are nearly sixteen centres in the Pudukotah State where Jain vestiges can now be traced.

The plate of the Twenty-four Tīrthankaras was found, some years back, imbedded along with a number of other Jaina bronze idols in the compound of the Raja's College, Pudukotah, situated on the southern side of the capital of the State, and it is now preserved in the State Museum. On the east of the environs of the capital, were discovered some burial urns of an ancient people, who lived in this region. In historical times, we learn that in proximity to this site, was a flourishing commercial centre called Kalaśamangalam.

The plate of the Twenty-four Tīrthankaras should have been an object of worship of the Jains in a temple or in some household of a fairly well-to-do Jain. Not far off from this place near Tirugokarnam is another Jain idol with triple umbrellas on the top of the hill called Sadaiyārpārai, and it is even now worshipped by the people in the neighbourhood as Sadaiyārpāraimuni.

* *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 69.



The Pudukotah Museum Plate of the 24 Tirthankaras
(Central Figure Rsabhadeva)

The plate is a *relievo* in bronze with the figures of the Twenty-four Tīrthankaras set in one frame-work attached to a piṭam. On either side of the frame-work is attached what is called an '*alavattam*' as an insignia of the royal dignity associated with these figures. The upper portion has four bars running cross-wise with an inter-space of one inch from one another, ending at the top in a triangular shape with three well-turned loops on either side and crowned with a central piece of an elliptical shape. The whole piece measures 14½ inches in height and 7 inches in breadth at its widest part.

The principal figure in the centre is a Tīrthankara standing in an erect posture on a padma pīṭa. The figure is nude. It has long ear-lobes and the face indicates deep contemplation. Its hair is worked in ringlets with two tufts of hair hanging on either side of its shoulders. A ring is attached to the back part of the head to answer a similar one attached to the cross-bar of the frame-work just above the central figure. The two hands hang loosely on the sides. The figure together with the padmāsana measures six inches in height and two inches from shoulder to shoulder. The front of the piṭam is adorned with a crouching bull in the centre and a lion-rampant at either end. The piṭam juts out four inches to the front and is two inches high.

Attached to the pīṭam on either side is a seated figure. The one on its right has a cow's face and four arms; the front right hand being in the abhaya pose, and the front left hand stretched out. The figure on its left is a female with four arms, holding *Cakra* and *Sankha* in the two upper hands; the front right hand being in the abhaya pose and the front left as if presenting a fruit.

From the *cinha* (cognizance) described above the central figure should be Ṛṣabhadeva or Ādinātha, the first Tīrthankara with his two attendant spirits *Gomukha* and *Cakreśvari*.

According to Jain mythology, Ṛṣabhadeva was the son of a Rajput king. In a dream, his mother saw a bull (ṛṣabha) coming towards her. Hence his name. He is said to have lived for eighty-four lakhs of pūrva of time. He taught men

seventy-two arts and women sixty-four. He had one hundred sons of whom the most famous was Bharata, the first Cakravartin of India. His chief glory lies in his being the first to teach the Jain faith.

There are four Tīrthankaras on either side of the central figure, and above it are four rows, with four Tīrthankaras in the first tier, five in each of the next two tiers and one crowning them all at the top with a five-hooded serpent as a canopy. This is the figure of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthankara. He was the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, the real founder of Jainism and is as historical a person as Mahāvīra himself, and lived nearly 250 years before the latter.

Pārśvanātha was the son of Aśvasena and Vāma. Before his birth, his mother saw a black serpent by her side. Hence his name. Before his renunciation, he was a great warrior. He defeated the Yavana king of Kalinga and he married the daughter of the king of Ayodhya. At thirty years of age, he turned an ascetic and practised for eighty-four days intense meditation and austerities in order to become a Kēvalin. During this time, his enemy, the brahman ascetic, caused a heavy down-pour of rain. Then his friend the snake, who had become God Dharanendra, spread his hood like an umbrella and sheltered him against the rain. Therefore Pārśvanātha's *cinha* (cognizance) is the hooded serpent's head (three, five or seven hoods). He preached the new religion for seventy years and attained perfect knowledge and deliverance at the ripe age of 100 years. He is said to have enjoined on his followers four vows: (1) not to take life, (2) not to lie, (3) not to steal, and (4) not to own property. Mahāvīra added to this a fifth vow, *viz.*, chastity.

All the other twenty-two Tīrthankaras are seated in the usual *dhyāna* pose. Their legs are crossed and their hands rest upon the crossed legs and the right palm faces upwards and is made to rest on the left palm also held similarly. Each figure is one inch in height.

We have no epigraphical evidence to fix the age of this metal but considering the simple cut and the natural features

of the figures and of the objects of the attendant spirits, we may infer that the bronze plate might have been cast about the end of the tenth century A.D.

The names of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras, their colour, their cognizance, their attendant spirits and their places of birth and death are given in the Appendix.

APPENDIX.

The Twenty-four Tirthankaras.*

No.	Name	Colour	Cognizance	Attendant Spirits	Born at	Died at
1	Ṛṣabhadeva or Ādi-nātha	Yellow or golden	Bull	Gomukha or Cakreśvari	Vinitānagara	Aṣṭāpada
2	Ajitanātha	Yellow or golden	Elephant	Mahāyakṣa and Ajitabalā	Ayodhyā	Samēta Śikhara
3	Sambhavanātha	Yellow or golden	Horse	Trimukha and Duritāri (Digambara Prajñapti)	Śrāvasti	,, ,,
4	Abhinandana	Yellow or golden	Ape	Nāyaka and Kālikā (Dig. Yakṣeśvara and Vajraśrinkhalā)	Ayodhyā	,, ,,
5	Sumatinātha	Yellow or golden	Red goose or Partridge or Curlew	Tumburu and Mahākāli (Dig. Purusadattā)	Ayodhyā	,, ,,
6	Padmaprabhu	Red	Red Lotus flower	Kusuma and Syāmā (Dig. Manōvegā [Manōgupti])	Kausambi	,, ,,
7	Supārśvanātha	Yellow or golden	Swastika	Mātaṅga and Śāntā (Dig. Varanandi and Kāli)	Benares	,, ,,
8	Candraprabhu	White	Moon	Vijaya and Bhṛkuṭi (Dig. Jvālāmālinī)	Candrapura	,, ,,
9	Suvidhinātha	White	Crocodile (? Dig. Crab)	Ajita and Sutārakā (Dig. Mahākāli)	Kānaṇḍinagara	,, ,,
10	Śītaḷanātha	Yellow or golden	Śrīvatsa figure (? Dig. Ficus religiosa)	Brahmā and Aśokā (Dig. Mānavi)	Bhadrapura	,, ,,
11	Śreyāṁśanātha	Yellow or golden	Rhinoceros	Yakṣeṭa and Mānavi (Dig. Īśvara and Gauri)	Siṁhapura	,, ,,
12	Vāsupūjya	Red	Male Buffalo	Kumāra and Caṇḍā (Dig. Gāndhāri)	Campāpuri	Campāpurī
13	Vimaḷanātha	Yellow or golden	Boar	Ṣāṇmukha and Viditā (Dig. Vairoti)	Kampilyapura	Samēta Śikhara
14	Ananthanātha	Yellow or golden	Hawk (? Dig. Bear)	Pātāla and Aṅkuśā (Dig. Anantamati)	Ayodhyā	,, ,,
15	Dharmanātha	Yellow or golden	Thunderbolt	Kinnara and Kandarpā (Dig. Mānasi)	Ratnapuri	,, ,,
16	Śāntinātha	Yellow or golden	Deer†	Garuda and Nirvāni (Dig. Kimpuruṣa and Mahāmānasi)	Gajapura or Hastināpura	,, ,,
17	Kunthunātha	Yellow or golden	Goat	Ghandarva and Balā (Dig. Vijayā)	Gajapura or Hastināpura	,, ,,
18	Aranātha	Yellow or golden	Nandāvartta Diagram	Yakṣeṭa and Dhaṇā (Dig. Kendra and Ajitā)	Gajapura or Hastināpura	,, ,,
19	Mallinātha (acc. to the Śwetāmbara, a woman)	Blue	Water jar	Kubera and Dharaṇapriyā (Dig. Aparājitā)	Mathurā	,, ,,
20	Munisuvrata	Black	Tortoise	Varuṇa and Naradattā (Dig. Bahurūpiṇi)	Rājagṛhā	,, ,,
21	Naminātha	Yellow or golden	Blue lotus (Dig. Aśoka Tree)	Bhṛikuṭi and Gāndhārī (Dig. Cāmuṇḍi)	Mathurā	,, ,,
22	Néminātha	Black	Conch Shell	Gōmēdha and Ambikā (Dig. Sarvāhṇa and Kūṣmāṇḍinī)	Samīpura	Girnār
23	Pārśvanātha	Blue	Snake	Pārśvayakṣa or Dharaṇendra and Padmāvati	Benares	Samēta Śikhara
24	Mahāvīra or Vardha-māna	Yellow or golden	Lion	Mātaṅga and Siddhāyikā	Kuṇḍagrāma	Pāvāpurī

† According to Burgess, 'Antelope'.

* Reprinted from *The Heart of Jainism* by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson (pp. 312-13).

SRI-GUPTA

[Inscriptions *versus* I-Tsing]

BY C. S. K. RAO SAHIB

"I-TSING, the Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India in 671—695 A.D., mentions a great king (Maha-Raja) Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta) who built a temple near Mriga-sikhavana for some Chinese pilgrims whose piety he had remarked. This temple the ruins of which were still known in I-Tsing's time as the temple of China was endowed by the king with twenty-four large villages. The foundation of the temple took place 'about 500 years before the writer's time" (Allen's *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, p. xv).

Who was this Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta), patron of the Chinese pilgrims? Was he the same Gupta mentioned in the inscriptions —father of Ghatotkacha and grandfather of Chandra-Gupta I?

Fleet rejects this identification on the grounds that

(*a*) The former's name is Sri Gupta.

(*b*) I-Tsing's date would place him about 175 A.D. which is too early.

Allen tries to identify Chi-li-ki-to, the patron of the Chinese pilgrims, with Gupta of inscriptions. He suggests that

(1) "Sri" need not necessarily be regarded as an integral part of the name and that Chinese writers frequently used it as an honorific.

(2) Allen admitting that the chronological difficulty is a serious one, yet satisfies himself that I-Tsing's statement is a vague one and should not be taken "too" literally and assumes that Gupta must have been reigning in the latter half of the third century A.D. or about four centuries before I-Tsing. Considering the lapse of time, and the fact that the Chinese pilgrim gives the statement on the authority of "a statement handed down from ancient times by old men" Allen does not doubt the identification on chronological grounds.

(3) Another argument brought forward in favour of the identification is that the lands of the patron of the

Chinese pilgrims must have lain within the Gupta territory and it is unlikely that we should have had two different rulers, in the same territory, of the same name within so brief a period.

(4) Had Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta) been an ancestor and not identical with Gupta of the inscriptions, he must have appeared in some genealogical lists.

It is sought to prove that Fleet was right in rejecting the identification on chronological grounds and that Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta) is not Gupta of the inscriptions and I-Tsing's statement should be taken seriously and literally.

(A) There is no need to discuss about Fleet's rejection of the identification on the ground of mere name, that the former, the patron of the Chinese pilgrims, was Sri-Gupta and the latter only Gupta.

(B) Fleet places the date of Sri-Gupta (Chi-li-ki-to) *circa* 175 A.D. evidently on the ground that I-Tsing came to India in 671 A.D. and it must have taken three or four years to learn about the existence of an old king who lived 500 years before his time. But Sri-Gupta's (Chi-li-ki-to) date ought to be placed to 191—192 A.D., *i.e.*, 500 years before I-Tsing's *Composition of the Memoirs*. Dr. Takakasu (*Translation of I-Tsing's Records of the Buddhist Religion, etc.*, 1896, p. lix) places the date of the composition of the memoirs to 691—692 A.D. So 500 years before means 191—192 A.D. The Chinese appreciated "chronology" unlike the Hindus and they are generally "exact" writers. The Chinese pilgrim's statement was based on the authority "of a tradition handed down from ancient times by old men". We will not be wrong in assuming that I-Tsing heard this tradition in the "Buddhist Monasteries" where he stayed for a number of years and that it was a *Buddhist tradition.*

There is exactly a similar tradition among the Jains as recorded in Jinasena's *Harivamsa Purana* which was composed in Saka Era 705=783 A.D.

वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोऽत्राभिषेक्ष्यते ।
लोकेऽवन्तिसुतो राजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालकः ॥ ८३ ॥

षष्टिवर्षाणि तद्राज्यं ततो विषयभूभुजाम् ।
शतं च पञ्चपञ्चाशत् वर्षाणि तदुदीरितम् ॥ ८४ ॥
चत्वारिंशत् मुरुण्डानां भूमण्डलमखण्डितम् ।
त्रिंशत्तु पुष्यमित्राणां षष्टिर्वस्वाग्निमित्रयोः ॥ ८५ ॥
शतंरासभराजानां नरवाहनमप्यतः ।
चत्वारिंशत्ततो द्वाभ्यां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् ॥ ८६ ॥
भट्टबाणस्य तद्राज्यं गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् ।
एकत्रिंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम् ॥ ८७ ॥
द्विचत्वारिंशदेवानः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।
ततोऽजितं जयोराजास्यादिन्द्रपुरसंस्थितः ॥ ८८ ॥

—*Harivamsa Purana*, Ch. LX, quoted in *I.A.*, Vol. XV, p. 142.

According to this the Guptas' rule on this earth was 720 years after Mahāvīra's nirvāna, their rule lasting for 231 years. For Mahāvīra's nirvāna, the traditional date is 600—528 B.C., the date accepted by Rapson (*Ancient India*, p. 65). Whatever the true date of Mahāvīra's nirvāna may be, Jinasena accepts the traditional date 528 B.C.* According to him the Saka King was born 605 years, 7 months after Mahāvīra's nirvāna. Now the Saka Era began in 78 A.D. and the computation is accurate too that the traditional day of nirvāna is Dipāvali night, October and Saka Era began on the 1st Chaitra—March (see Pathak's articles in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 47, p. 19). So 720 years after nirvāna, says Jinasena, *i.e.*, 720−528=192 A.D. the Gupta rule began.

Both the Jain and Buddhist traditions refer to the same king. I-Tsing heard the existence of a king Sri-Gupta who ruled 500 years before his time=692—500=192 A.D. and Jinasena who composed his work in 783 A.D. (705 Saka) refers to the Guptas as having begun their rule 720 years after Mahāvīra's nirvāna; *i.e.*, according to Jinasena 720—528=192 A.D. and he is nearly a century later than I-Tsing. How could two independent traditions—one a century later than the other—refer to a king who ruled exactly in the same year **192 A.D.**? The

* वर्षाणां षट्शतीं त्यक्त्वा पञ्चाभ्यां मासपञ्चकम् ।
मुक्तिंगतिमहावीरे शकराजस्ततोऽभवत् ॥

conclusion is justifiable that they refer to the same king. "We may reasonably believe in the accuracy of a statement if it is supported by all the three available literary sources, Brahmin, Jain and Buddhist, since it is almost certain that no borrowings has taken place between them."* Here in this case at least two sources agree, Buddhist and Jain.

Allen's identification of Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta) with Gupta of inscriptions ought to be rejected in the light of the above.

The sources of, or original authorities for, the early history of India may be arranged in four classes :

(1) The first of these is "*tradition* chiefly as recorded in native literature".

(2) Allen's assumption that "Gupta must have been reigning in the latter half of the third century A.D. or about four centuries before I-Tsing wrote" has really no basis.

(3) Allen's contention "that it is unlikely we should have had two different rulers of the same name in the same territory within so brief a period" will have to be now examined. Sri-Gupta, the patron of the Chinese pilgrims, ruled *circa* 192 A.D. Gupta of the inscriptions, according to V. A. Smith (*I.A.*, 1902, p. 258), ruled from 275 to 300 and Allen accepts it as approximately correct. So nearly eighty-three years elapse between the two. Is it not a sufficiently long period for at least three generations of rulers to have ruled? For example Chandra-Gupta I began his reign in 319 A.D. and Chandra-Gupta II, Vikramaditya his grandson ascended the throne about 380 A.D. according to Allen. Only sixty-one years elapse between two accessions and we have two sovereigns of the same name ruling in the same territory—why should not two Guptas rule in the same territory within a "short time" of eighty-three years?

(4) Allen's last point that "if the Gupta mentioned by I-Tsing had been an ancestor and not identical with Gupta, he must have appeared in some genealogical lists" will now be

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* Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 70.

examined. Let us take two genealogical lists from the inscriptions.—

महाराज श्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराज श्री घडोत्कच पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छवि दोहित्रस्य महादेव्याम् कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराज श्री समुद्रगुप्तस्य ॥ (Lines 28-29, All. Pillar Ins.)

सर्वराजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज श्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराज श्री घटोत्कचपौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छवि दौहित्रस्य महादेव्याम् कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराज श्री समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्र स्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यां दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः परमभागवतो महाराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-स्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज श्री कुमारगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्त-त्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज श्री पुरगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पा-दानुध्यातो महादेव्यां श्रीवत्सदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज श्री नरसिंहगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-स्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यां श्रीमतीदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज श्री कुमारगुप्तः ॥ (*J.A.S.B.*, 1889, Pt. 1, p. 89.)

A careful study will show that the descent is traced to Samudra Gupta, the real founder of the empire and the family's greatness. The name of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather Chandra-Gupta I, Ghatotkacha and Gupta are mentioned in connection with his name only, according to the Hindu practice. "Maharaja Sri Gupta Prapautrasya", "Maharaja Sri Ghatotkacha Pautrasya", "Maharajadhiraja Sri Chandra Guptasya Putra", etc., are therefore mere epithets of Samudra Gupta as the other well-known epithets like "Kritanta Parasu", "Asvamedha Parakrama", etc., are. There is no room to expect any other predecessor's name in the genealogical lists. If and when inscriptions belonging to earlier reigns than Samudra Gupta's are recovered, the names of the earlier Gupta kings will be then known. The identification of Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta), the patron of the Chinese pilgrims, with the Gupta of inscriptions has to be rejected. Who was this Sri-Gupta then and what was his relationship with other Guptas? That he was the founder of the Gupta dynasty, Jinasena clearly informs us. As for his relationship with the other Guptas, an attempt might be made to construct the genealogical tree.

Sri-Gupta (Chi-li-ki-to) who may be called Gupta I was ruling *circa* 192 A.D. Chandra-Gupta I ascends the throne in 320 A.D. Between these two dates 128 years elapse. From the accession of Chandra-Gupta I in 320 A.D. to 455 A.D. when Kumara Gupta I died, 135 years elapse, four generations of emperors ruling, with an average of about 32 years, 3 months for each emperor. Similarly accepting four reigns for 128 years, and giving each an average of 32 years, and going backward from the known to the unknown the dates may be provisionally fixed as follows:—

Ghatotkacha 288—320 A.D., Gupta 256—286, Nameless king 224—256, Gupta I (Chi-li-ki-to) 192—224. The genealogical tree will then be:

(Chi-li-ki-to Sri-Gupta)—Gupta I—192-224 A.D.
|
His son—224-256 A.D.
|
(of Inscriptions)—Gupta II—256-288 A.D.
|
Ghatotkacha—288-320 A.D.
|
Chandra-Gupta I—
(Maharajadhiraja).

Most likely the Gupta of inscriptions, Gupta II, was named after his grandfather Gupta I just as Chandra-Gupta II Vikramaditya was named after his grandfather Chandra-Gupta I.

STUDIES IN THE INDUS SCRIPTS

BY S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M.A.

I

IT has been the fashion to assume, following the lead of Sir John Marshall, that the Indus culture was non-Āryan, on the grounds that the Āryans had no knowledge of towns, used horses and defensive armour and held the cow, and not the bull, sacred. The Āryans also apparently had no image-worship or that of the phallus. On such slender and mostly negative evidence, it is concluded that the Indus culture was pre-Āryan.

Leaving aside the fact that *pūrs* were known as strongholds of the Dāsas, it is clear, as urged by Prof. S. V. Venkaṭēśvara (*J.R.A.S.*, 1916) that some of the Vēdic deities were conceived as anthropomorphic and it is not impossible that figurines of the Earth Goddess or Agni were employed in ritual. The figure of a horse has recently been discovered at Mohenjo-Dārō and therefore it cannot be urged that the Indus culture was pre-Āryan. Nor can we urge a later date because domesticated horses were employed in Sumēr a thousand years earlier than usually supposed. The excavations at Khafaje have revealed a plaque depicting a king leading a chariot drawn by four horses (*Illustrated London News*, October 8, 1932). Moreover the chariots found in Sindh are exactly of the same type as described in the Ṛg-vēda. The axle and the wheels were made of the same block and the axle turned with the wheels (*Ṛg.*, I. 166. 9). The horse was not indigenous to Mesopotamia and was imported from the East probably from the Sindh and Punjab. It is equally illogical to assume that the bull was not held in as high an esteem as the cow by the Āryans, for we find in the Vēdic hymns, the comparison with the bull employed almost *ad nauseam*. To give only a few instances :

आवाम् रथः वृषभिर्यातु अश्वैः ॥ (Ṛg., VII. 69. 1)
सः वृषा वृषभाभुवत् ॥ (Ṛg., VIII. 93. 7)
एव इदिंद्राय वृषभाय वृष्णे अकर्मवृगवः नरथम् ॥ (IV. 16. 20)
नि शुष्णे इन्द्र धर्णथिं वज्रं जघथदस्यवि ।
वृषाहि उग्र श्रृण्विषे ॥ (Ṛg., VIII. 6. 14)

In *Ṛg.*, I. 177. 3; II. 16. 6; V. 36. 5; V. 40. 2, etc., Vṛṣa is employed merely for the sake of Śabdālaṁkāra. Agni, Indra, Aśvins, Viṣṇu, Ṛbhus, Rudra are all styled Vṛṣas (I. 54. 2, etc.). Vṛṣa is also the name of a king (I. 36. 10).

The existence of the worship of the Aśvattha is not necessarily non-Āryan. The Aśvattha is probably connected with horse-stables (*aśva-samstha*) and was the abode of the Maruts whose chariots were drawn by horses or deer (अश्वपर्णैः रथेभिः—*Ṛg.*, I. 83. 1). The tree was also the dwelling-place of the Gandharvas, Varuṇa and Agni.

ब्रह्म वै पर्णः विदमरुतः अन्नम् विट्मारुतोऽश्वत्थः ॥ (*Tai.*, III. 5. 7)
अश्वो रूपं कृत्वा यदश्वत्थेतिष्ठः । संवत्सरं देवेभ्योनिलाय ॥
(*Tai. Br.*, I. 2. 5)

In the Chhāndōgya, the Araṇyâyana sacrifice is called the Aśvattha.

अरश्वहवैव्यश्चार्णवौ ब्रह्मलोके तृतीयस्यामितोदिवि तदैरंमदीयं सरः ।
तदश्वत्थः, सोमसवनः, तदपराजिता, पूः ब्रह्मणः स्वयंभुर्विमितं हिरण्मयम्॥

In the Kaṭha and the Gīta, the tree is compared to the eternal *samsāra*.

ऊर्ध्वमूलोऽवाक्शाखः एषोश्वत्थः सनातनः ॥ etc.

On the Indus seals, the Aśvattha figures along with the heads of deer and is thus probably connected with Maruts (who were the sons of Rudra) or with Agni (one form of Rudra—त्वमग्न रुद्रो असुरो महोदिवः). Even now in the popular mind, the Vālakhilyas are supposed to reside in the leaves of the Aśvattha tree and Śiva at the top (अग्रतः शिवरूपाय).

Thus we see that there is not a shred of positive evidence to prove that the Indus culture is pre-Āryan. There is no consensus of opinion about the date of the composition of the Vēdic hymns. Neither do the human remains at Mohenjo-Dāro

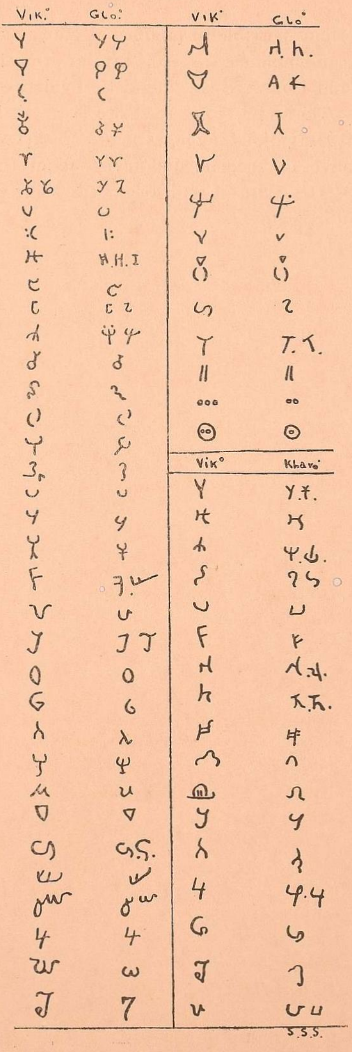
give us data to solve the problem, as all the four types—Proto-Austroloid, Mediterranean, Mongolian branch of the Alpine stock and the Alpine are found and it is observed that cremation was alsc prevalent.

The apparent affinity with Dravidian cultures (through the Brāhui as connecting link and the resemblances sought in pottery, jewellery, phallic worship, etc.) is not conclusively proved. Nor can we assert that writing was unknown to the Vēdic people, as expressions like अष्टकर्णीं गोः etc. indicate that some kind of markings, if not numerals, were employed. Even granting the Tāntric origin of Brāhmī, it does not at all follow that Tāntric cults are necessarily a-vaidik, for Tāntric writers unanimously claim Vēdic authority. The evidence of philology too is inconclusive. It is interesting to note, however, these Sumerian affinities with Dravidian and Saṁskṛt:

SUMERIAN		SAṀSKṚT	DRAVIDIAN
		A	
A	(water)	*Ap* ; *Anbhas*	
Abba	(father)		*Appa*
Apzu	(deep)	*Ap-su*	
Adda	(old man)	*Vṛddha*	
Ag	(to send, order)		*Āgu* (? become)
Al	(to weep)		*Aḷu*
Am	(wild ox)		*Emmai* / *Erumai*
Ama	(mother)	*Ambā* (?)	*Ammā*
A-na	(what ?)		*Ēnu*, *Enna*
Kuś-Asi	(whip)	*Kaśā*	
Asilal	(gladness)	(*Āhlā-da*)	
		B.	
Ba	(divide)	*Bhaj*	
Bad	(high)	*Bṛhad*	
Bal	(hew, cleave)	*Bala*	
Banda	(strong)	*Bandha*	
Bar (1)	(open)	$\sqrt{\textit{Vār}}$ (*Dvāra*)	
Bar (2)	(shine)	*Bhrāj*	

SUMERIAN		SAṀSKṚT	DRAVIDIAN
		D	
Da	(side, arm)	*Dōr*, *da*-to give	
Dag	(escape)		*Dāgu* (hide)
Dam	(husband or wife)	*Dam-pati*	
Dam-ha-ra	(battle)	*Samhāra*, *Samgara*	
Dim (2)	(pillar)	(*Stambha ?*)	(*Dimbu*)
Dirig	(exceeding great)	*Dīrgha*	
Dub (2)	(pour out, heap)	*Stūpa*	
		E	
E (1)	(water course)		*Eri*, *Ēru*
E (2)	(go up, rise)		*Ēḷ*
En	(until)		*Endu*
E-en	(till when)		*Enthe*
		G	
Ga	(milk)	[*Gō*-cow]	
Gam	(to bend, crouch)	[*Gam*-to go]	
Gidru	(staff, sceptre)	[*Gadā*]	
Gu (2)	(neck)		*Gōṇ*
Gud	(bull, ox)	[*Gō*]	
Gur	(to raise, exalt)	*Guru* (heavy, high)	
		H	
Har	(limit, decrease)	*Har*-destroy, steal	
Hal	(destroy)		*Pāḷu*
		I	
Igi	(eye)	*Aksha*	
Il	(to lift)		*Eḷtu*
Ilu	(cry)		*Aḷu*
		K	
Ka	(mouth, face)	*Kam* (head)	
Kalga	(strong)	*Kali*	
Kid	(cut off)	*Chhid*	*Kaḍi*
Ki-in-dar	(cleft in ground)	*Kandara* (cave)	
Ḳiśi	(forelock)	*Ḳēśa*	

SUMERIAN		SAṀSKṚT	DRAVIDIAN
		K	
Kur (2)	(land, hill)	*Ku* (earth) *Kudhra* (hill)	
Kuś	(skin, leathern bottle)	*Kōśa*	
		M	
Mah	(high, exalted)	*Mahat*	
Mul	(star)	*Mūla*	
		N	
Nagar	(craftsman, carpenter)	[*Nagara*-city]	
Nu	(no)	*Na*	
Ne-ha	(peaceful, secure)	*Snēha*	*Nē-ha*
		P	
Par	(spread)		*Paraḍu*
Patesi	(governor)	*Prādēśika*	
		S	
Sun	(decay, ruin)	*Śūnya*	
Śu	(hand)		(*Chey*, *Kai*)
Śul	(strong one)	*Śūra*	
		T	
Tab	(to burn)	√*Tap*	
Tag	(to touch)		*Tāgu*
Tar	(cut, tear, open)		*Tari*
Tuk	(take)		*tege*
		U	
Ud	(sun, light, day)	*Ut* (sun) *Udaya* (light)	
Udu	(sheep)		*āḍu*
Ug	(lion)	[*Vyāghra*, *Ugra*]	
Um-ma	(old woman, mother)		*Amma*
Ur	(leg)	*Ūru* (thigh)	
Uru (1)	(city)	[*Pūr*]	*Ūru*
Uru (2)	(engrave)		*Ore* (to write)
		Z	
Zag	(side)	*Śākhā*	
Zal	(to be bright)	*Jvāla*	


Vik.
Glo.
Vik.
Glo.
Vik.
Kharo.
S.S.S.

It is perhaps possible to produce as many Sumerian words that have resemblance to Saṁskṛt as to the Dravidian languages and therefore the linguistic evidence is not at all conclusive. The Indus script seems to be as little adapted to the classical Dravidian languages as to Saṁskṛt and Sumerian. Thus we have to suspend judgment about the non-Āryan character of the Indus Civilization, till some more positive evidence is forthcoming.

FIRE-ORDEALS

[Parallelism in the Ramayana and European History]

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

ONE of the most touching legends narrated in that great Indian Epic—the *Rāmāyana*—is that which describes how Sītā, the wife of the semi-divine hero Rāmachandra, underwent the fire-ordeal to prove her chastity when her husband became suspicious about the purity of her character. This incident came about under the following circumstances:—

After Rāma had conquered the demon-king Rāvaṇa and killed him, Sītā went to her husband Rāmachandra and fell at his feet, weeping tears of gladness at his victory. He was moved with pity; but his manner was cold and stern. Thereupon his brother Lakshmaṇa said: "Look, brother. There is your wife, young and beautiful, her eyes shining with tears of joy. Have you no words of welcome for her?"

"My enemies are slain," said Rāma, "and you are free, Sītā! *But I do not wish to see you anymore. I cannot take you back as my wife.*"

"*Alas!*" cried Sītā, "*Would that I were dead. But I am guiltless; yet better death than doubts.*" And turning to Lakshmaṇa, she cried, "*Build me a funeral pyre that I may end my sufferings amidst the flames.*"

A great pile of boughs was built up. *Then Sītā prayed to Agni, the god of fire, and said, "O Agni, who seest our good and our evil deeds, may this flame show that in thought and act I have been faithful; may it prove that the lying reports that have been spread about me are false." Fearlessly she climbed the pyre, the flames were applied to it, and, while all around sorrowed, Sītā vanished.* Then cried Rāma, "I have sinned, for Sītā was guiltless."

Then a great miracle happened. *The red flames of the pyre were divided, and the god Agni came forth bearing Sītā in his arms. He walked up to Rāma, and, placing Sītā in his arms, said: "Take thy wife, who is without sin or shame."*

Accordingly Rāma received Sītā and went back with her to Ayodhya.

In this case, we find that Agni, the god of fire, himself interfered and testified to the fact that Sītā was immaculate and pure.

We should now search and try to find whether, in the history of any other country in the world, incidents parallel or analogous to Sītā's fire-ordeal, are recorded. Fortunately, we have not to seek far afield for the same. We find that two such incidents are recorded in European history.

In the 9th century A.D., Charles the Fat, Roman Emperor and the King of the West Franks, was convinced of the innocence and purity of his wife Richardis by the result of a fire-ordeal which she had to undergo.

Then again, in ancient England also, this mode of trial by fire-ordeal was prevalent, for *Queen Emma was reported to have walked over red-hot ploughshares for the purpose of proving her innocence.*

Unfortunately, in the case of Queen Richardis, the historian has not told us about the mode of the fire-ordeal she had to undergo. *Most likely, she also had to walk over red-hot embers or iron.*

In my paper entitled: "*A Note on the Prevalence of the Hot-Iron Ordeal in Modern Bengal*," which has been published in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XIII, pp. 276-279, I have shown that the mode of trial by the fire-ordeal is also prevalent in Bengal even at the present day. In the case referred to therein, a woman named Mahārājin was accused of being unchaste and was called upon to prove her chastity by holding in her hand a hot iron ball weighing 10 *seers*. The arbitrators, who called upon her to undergo this ordeal, stated that if her hands would remain unburnt by the hot iron ball, her chastity would be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. But as the woman's father Gopāl Giri did not agree to this proposal, his caste-fellows ex-communicated him. Hence arose the criminal case referred to in my afore-mentioned paper.

Now arises the question: Why were fire-ordeals resorted to in ancient times (and are had recourse to even at the present day) for the purpose of proving the innocence or otherwise of an accused person?

In answer to this question, we should say that it was a cardinal article of belief among the ancients that, if a person was charged with the commission of an offence, his guilt or innocence might be proved by subjecting him to undergo certain operations, such as holding a red-hot iron with the hand, or diving under water and remaining there for some time, and the like. The accused agreed to undergo the said operations in the belief that the deity would interfere in the matter and enable him to prove his innocence by passing through the ordeal unaffected in any way. This belief was based on two facts, namely, *firstly*, on the superstitious belief in the possibility of receiving divine aid and, *secondly*, on the absence, among most of the ancients, of a system of jurisprudence prescribing rules for the recording of evidence and well-defined procedure for enquiring into, and adjudicating upon the guilt or innocence of the accused. In fact, Mr. Isaac Disraeli very pertinently observes that "ordeals are the rude laws of a barbarous people who have not yet obtained a written code, and not advanced enough in civilization to enter into the refined enquiries, the subtle distinctions, and elaborate investigations which a court of law demands."

But the age of miracles has passed away; and the gods do not come and interfere to prove the innocence of accused persons, as Agni, the god of fire, had done in the case of Sītā.

As for Queens Richardis and Emma, they had to walk over hot embers and iron ploughshares. Therefore, the question arises: How were they enabled to do so, as the gods did not come and assist them in undergoing these ordeals?

The solution to this question must be sought for in the facts that (*a*) either the soles of their feet had been so hardened by walking bare-footed that they easily walked over the hot cinders or irons without their feet being burnt in any way;

(*b*) or that the soles of their feet had been anointed with some ointment to make them fire-proof; (*c*) or that their feet had been covered up with some sort of leafy covering which prevented them from being burnt.

On these points, a writer in the Calcutta daily *Englishman* says:—" Mediæval law laid down that innocence was proved by the suspect walking unharmed over the embers of *pipal*-wood glowing in an excavation nine hands long, by one span deep, by two spans broad; *a feat not difficult of accomplishment, really, to a race accustomed to covering the soles of their feet to the consistency of rhinoceros-hide by invariably moving bare-foot.*"

" Nine hands are equivalent to three and a half yards, a distance which would require a maximum of three steps to traverse. I saw the ordeal performed by a party of strolling players in Chota-Nagpur some few years ago, and I can assure the reader that they negotiated a pit considerably longer than the ten and a half feet prescribed by ancient law."*

As regards the Bengali woman Mahārājin, I am inclined to think that, if her father had agreed to the proposal that she should prove her chastity by holding in her hand, a hot iron ball weighing 10 *seers*, her hands would, in all probability, have been, first of all, rubbed with rice, and then, covered with seven leaves of the *pipal*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*), as prescribed by the ancient law-giver—Yājnavalkya.

It goes without saying that the rubbing of the hands with rice-paste and, then, the tying of seven leaves of the *pipal*-tree, one upon the other, with a thread upon the hands, would make the latter limb immune from being burnt by the red-hot iron ball placed thereupon.

Now arises the question: Why are the *pipal*-leaves tied upon the hands of the person undergoing the fire-ordeal?

The answer to this question lies in the fact that, since the Sutra Period, the Hindus have ascribed sanctity to the *pipal*-tree. In the *Gobhila Grihya Sūtra*, the *Aśvattha* or *Pipal*

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* *Vide* the article entitled: " *Indian Trials by Ordeal* " in the Calcutta daily *Englishman* of 15th May 1932.

(*Ficus religiosa*) is described as a tree presided over by Āditya, who is identified by Yaska with Vishṇu. In later times, therefore, the *Aśvattha* came to be regarded as a tree especially sacred to Vishṇu, and so Krishṇa declares himself in the *Bhagavad Gītā* to be the *Aśvattha* amongst all trees.

It is for the foregoing reason that the Hindus believed that the leaves of the *pipal*-tree were imbued with the essence or divine afflatus of the god Vishṇu (the Preserver); and it was under the influence of this belief that they tied seven *pipal*-leaves (one upon the other) upon the hands of the accused person in order that Vishṇu's essence would prevent the latter's hands from being burnt by the red-hot iron in case he was really innocent.

CHAKKIYAR-KŪTTU OF KERALA

By K. Ramavarma Raja, B.A.

Who are the Chakkiyars and what is Kūttu? Both are fully described as follows in the *Cochin Census Report* of 1901 (pp. 147-48):

"*Chakkiyars.*—The name is supposed to be a corrupt form of *Slāghyar* (men of respectability). The Chakkiyars were originally Paradesis belonging to the *Sūta* caste, that is, a caste the members of which were born of a Kshatriya father and a Brahman mother. The tradition is that a family of this caste migrated to the Kerala in very ancient times. When the family was about to become extinct the issue of an adulterous Brahman woman born during the period of her criminal intimacy with other caste males, but before detection, was adopted into the family and came to be recognized as a separate caste. They study *Ithihāsas* and *Purāṇas* and expound the same by means of oral lectures known as *Chakkiyar-Kūth* which is a permanent institution in some temples. They are often delivered at the instance of votaries in pursuance of vows made. The Chakkiyar chooses some texts from some Sanskrit works—such compositions are called *Prabandhams*—and expound them with a freedom of speech scarcely allowed to any other person, or to himself at any other time or place."

There are eminent Sanskrit scholars and eloquent speakers among them. By custom they enjoy complete immunity from retort or punishment. They criticise men and measures without any reserve or censorship, and their interesting and instructive lectures always attract large audiences. In the old days when the editor and the reporter were altogether unknown, the Chakkiyar "assumed the rôle of critic and exponent of public opinion, and made his discourses the means of giving instructive lessons, political, religious or moral. There are also clever actors amongst them. They are paid

a small fee for their discourses. Their women are called *Illōtammas*. Their pollution extends for 11 days."

"*Chakkiyar-Nambiyars.*—They are also alleged to be the issue of unholy connections. The males beat a drum of a peculiar shape at intervals during the discourses or acting of the Chakkiyars, while their females called *Nangiyars* keep time. Both the Nambiyar and Nangiyar get a small fee for the work they do. The Nangiyars also assume the figure of mythical characters and perform a sort of pantomime on the Chakkiyar's stage. The bastards (boys and girls) become Chakkiyar and Illōtamma, or Chakkiyar-Nambiyar and Nangiyar according as the issue of the adulterous Nambudri woman are accepted and fed by a Chakkiyar, or Chakkiyar-Nambiyar."

It may be further added here that the Chakkiyar's performance takes place only in the temple premises and before a lighted oil lamp and therefore is a sacred function or ceremonial: and hence differs much from the modern Bhajana or Kalakshepam entertainment which is more social. Further, the Chakkiyar's discourse is scholarly while the latter is more musical. His audience proper consists of Brahmans seated in front and facing him from the opposite side of the burning lamp in the midway between, and also, perhaps, of some other thread-wearing high caste Hindus seated farther away behind the front rows. Others sit or stand still further away as they deserve. Women are screened from his view. His toilette or make-up is very simple yet comic in which he also appears on the stage to deliver the introductory prologue of the drama and to act the part of 'fool' in it.

That the Chakkiyar of Keraḷa who is a thread-wearing Hindu but of a lower order—Ambalavasi or temple servant—is professionally akin to the Purāṇic *Sūta* of Āryan India may be shown by a comparison with contrast of their respective modes of delivering discourses as practised and described in authoritative works. Both occupy high seats—higher than those of their Brahman or Rishi audience who sit or squat on the floor in front; and are free from the social obligation to

rise and salute any visitor, however distinguished he may be during the discourse. But, unlike the Sūta who could study and quote the Purāṇic texts in explanation or narration of his story, the Chakkiyar can cite or recite the modern secular Sanskrit works only in support of his discourse on the Purāṇic theme. It was the Sūta's privileges of higher seat and freedom from the social etiquette of making obeisance to a distinguished visitor that enraged Bala-Rāma when he, as a pilgrim, entered the august sacrificial assembly of the Vedic Sages or Rishis of old, and prompted him to kill the Sūta on the spot—a very rash and hasty action for which he deeply and sincerely repented afterwards on their strong remonstrance (*Bhāgavata*, P. X, 78, 23, 31). A great and elaborate sacrificial ceremonial lasting long was evidently an occasion chosen in ancient Āryan period for professional Purāṇic lectures in leisure hours perhaps. This was the Sūta's rôle in the real Āryan India. Later on, when the Vedic religion was declining, important temple festivals lasting several days, called '*Utsavams*' which are very common in South India, have become the grand occasions for the Purāṇic discourses which have survived in Keraḷa to this day as 'Chakkiyar-Kūttu'. The Chakkiyar explains the appropriate Sanskrit texts and relates the Purāṇic story in the vernacular of the country (Malayāḷam). Hence his discourse is a "*Maṇi-pravāḷam*," *i.e.*, a mixture of Sanskrit and Malayāḷam. Chakkiyar-Kūttu therefore seems to be an Āryan institution adapted to the Keraḷa conditions.

The Chakkiyars are also professional actors (Āryan Naṭās) whose performance on the stage is called Kūtiyāṭṭam (= Kūti-āṭṭam) a joint performance in which more characters than one appear on the stage. Here also the jester or fool (*Vidūshaka*) speaks in Malayāḷam and quotes special vernacular compositions suitable to the context and occasion. In this way the plays of Harsha, Bhāsa, etc., are acted on the Keraḷa stage even now in the old antique style. In certain temples this also is an item of its routine services. These dramatic performances also, like the Purāṇic discourse or Kūttu, are limited

to the sacred temple premises. Kūttu and Kūṭiyāṭṭam are either common or special items of temple services throughout Keraḷa, but they are, it must be specially noted, never allowed to be performed in the well-known important Śaiva temple at Tiruvanchakulam at Cranganore—the capital of the ancient Chera Kingdom known also as 'Mahōdayapuram'—(even now mourning?).[1] I may repeat here what I have stated elsewhere[2] in support of a suggestion of the possible or probable northern origin of this name 'Mahōdaya'. "According to Vincent Smith the city of Kanauj was known as 'Mahōdaya'. It was the flourishing capital and seat of learning in Northern India during the reigns of Harsha in the seventh century, and of Bhōja and Mahendrapāla in the ninth and the tenth centuries.[3] Again the same authority giving an account of the Saisunāga dynasty of the kings of Magadha makes mention of King Udaya (fourth from Bimbisāra) as the founder of the city of Kusumapura or Pāṭalīputra (451 B.C.), and adds that the name *Udaya* has variant forms 'Udayana, Udayāsva, etc.' Udayana, King of Vatsa, was another King Udaya of the previous generation (Ch. II, pp. 36, 38, 39 and 48).

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"It is well known that Kanauj and Ujjain were the enlightened cities of early India with which the South Indian kingdoms of the day were in constant communication for exchange of treasures in literature, science and art. This free and friendly intercourse was probably the outcome of, and even prompted by, the then prevailing Hindu Buddhist brotherhood. So the plays of Harsha, Bhāsa, etc., were very popular on the stage in ancient Keraḷa; and they are being acted here even now in the traditional antique manner. This would suggest the northern origin of the Udaya cities here." The above quotation is intended to indicate the sources from

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[1] For the Chakkiyars say that their final and concluding performance at the advanced and corrupt stage of Kaliyuga will take place here.

[2] "Comparative Studies,": "the two ancient and extinct Udaya cities and their suburbs".—*Ernakulam College Magazine*, July 1924.

[3] *Early History of India*, pp. 377 and 380 foot note.

which and the period during which South India derived the Āryan culture or the South Indian culture was Āryanised.

The Āryan dramas seem to have been acted under public or royal patronage in the ancient Choḷa kingdom also as early as the tenth century when it, led by its great ruler Rāja Rāja I (991—1012 A.D.), began to expand and absorb the neighbouring kingdoms of Chera, Pāṇḍya, etc., to form a great empire which continued to flourish for some centuries more. For we find in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* (1924-25) the following summary of the epigraphical records collected in the Southern Circle[4] :—

"Of the stone epigraphs collected in the Southern Circle some are connected with dances and theatrical performances given in temples on festive occasions. An inscription of Rāja Rāja I (991-1012 A.D.) dated in his ninth year comes from Tiruvāduturai and records a gift of land by the assembly of Śāttaṇūr for enacting the seven *aṅgas* of a drama in the style of the Ārya-Kūṭṭu on the festival day in the month of Puraṭṭāsi and also makes provision for the supply of rice-flour, betel leaves as well as areca nuts and ghee for mixing collyrium and turmeric in connection with the performance. A later inscription of the time of Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅga Chola makes provision for the maintenance of a theatre called Navavidha-naṭa Śālai which goes to show that in the ancient Choḷa temples various kinds of dances and acting were largely patronised as early as the tenth century." (Pp. 120-21.)

The *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year ending 31st March 1925 briefly gives the purports of these inscriptions on pages 26 and 29 from which it is very clear that the expression "seven *aṅgas*" used above stand for "seven *aṅkas*", *i.e.*, Acts, of a drama as in the Sanskrit drama each Act is called an *Aṅka*. Ancient Keraḷa and Choḷa or Tamil land had this institution of "acting Āryan drama" in common as early as the tenth century. Whether it had an

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[4] I do very thankfully acknowledge here my deep indebtedness to the Secretary and the Curator, Mythic Society, for supply of these extracts.

earlier existence or recognition in the former along with Chakkiyar-Kūttu or Purāṇic discourse, whether both had received it from the northern source simultaneously, or whether one had borrowed it from the other—*i.e.*, the cultural relationship between ancient Keraḷa and Choḷa—will be presently discussed not with a view to a final decision but rather for the consideration of eminent scholars.

In course of his 'Chathu Panikkar Endowment' Lectures delivered on the 21st and 22nd February 1930 at the Ernakulam College and reproduced in the *College Magazine* for March 1930 (pp. 124-130) Mahākavi Ullūr S. Parameśwara Ayyar, a learned scholar and retired Diwan Peshkar of Travancore, has stated as follows:—"Chakkiyar-Kūṭṭu is a source of entertainment peculiar to Keraḷa and it is as old as the beginning of the Christian era. A reference to it is found in *Chilappadikaram*, the great Tamil work of Ilaṅko-Adikal, the younger brother of Chenkuttuvan, one of the ancient Perumals (Chera Kings) of Keraḷa. This work was composed at Kunavayil which is the modern Trikkanamatilakam of the Cochin State." Herein we meet with a slight error that would not affect the main issue, and yet it is an error that must be corrected. Modern Trikkanamatilakam is not situated within the Cochin State, but outside the State in the Ponnani Taluk of the British Malabar District.

Chakkiyar-Kūttu or Purāṇic discourse, as has been stated above, is a temple institution generally associated with temple festivals. Was temple or image worship prevalent in the early centuries of the Christian era? The pre-Buddhistic religion was the Vedic Hinduism and the post-Buddhistic religion is the Purāṇic Hinduism "the distinctive feature of which in the matter of observance is image worship." "The temples and images," says Dutt, "however, had their attraction for the popular mind, and by the sixth century A.D. they were regarded with veneration, and had to a great extent supplanted the ancient form of worship. In the literature of the sixth to the eighth century A.D. we seldom read of sacrifices except those performed by kings, while Kāḷidāsa and

other poets often speak of temples and the images worshipped there." Kāḷidāsa's age may be pushed back by a century or a little more. Yet the Purāṇic Hinduism with its distinctive feature of idol worship cannot be said to have existed in general practice in the early centuries of the Christian era. The period assigned to it by Dutt was 500-1194 A.D. (*Ancient India*, Bk. V, Ch. V). Then again, the Chakkiyar's fluent speech explaining the Purāṇic topic is delivered in the mother tongue of the country, the Malayāḷam language which, it is generally held, had not attained to the position of an independent literary language in the early centuries of the Christian era. His action on the stage—beginning with the introductory prologue and including the fool's part—is enlivened with suitable Malayāḷam sayings and verses which are said to have been composed for the purpose by one Tolan—a Brahman poet and humorist of the Court of Cheraman Perumāḷ or the Perumāḷ ruler of Keraḷa. The authors of the plays acted on the Keraḷa stage, *e.g.*, Harsha and Śaktibhadra—Bhāsa's date is still in dispute—belonged to the latter half of the first millennium of the Christian era which was the golden age of the Sanskrit classical literature. If, therefore, there is a clear and unmistakable reference to Chakkiyar-Kūttu in the so-called Tamil Sangam work *Chilappadikaram*, its date along with that of its companion work *Maṇimekhalai* has to be brought down to this age. But I do not at all mean by this that the events of the story related in these Tamil classics are also to be assigned to this later age. The story is, no doubt, older and traditional and belongs to the first or second century A.D., although it has been embodied in the classical works of this later age. The claim of contemporaneity of the authors with their heroes might be intended for establishment of the authenticity of their works. Or, a still better explanation would be that works composed later than the traditions embodied therein might be assigned to the traditional contemporary writers for the same purpose.

The reference in the *Tamil* classical work to Chakkiyar-Kūttu in the ancient Chera country or Keraḷa may lead us to

the inevitable inference that along with it his action of the Āryan dramas on the stage also was prevalent at the time, and that these two Āryan institutions were not known in the *Tamil* kingdoms proper—Choḷa and Pāṇḍya at that time or prior to the tenth century A.D. It was probably Rāja Rāja I, the founder of the great Choḷa Empire, who introduced and established what was known as *Ārya-Kūṭṭu* including, possibly, the action on the stage as well as the Purāṇic discourse in the Choḷa country by permanent endowments such as the grants of lands for the same as the one registered in the inscription of his ninth year. This patronage was continued by his successors, too, as is shown by subsequent inscriptions. The flow of Āryan civilization and culture from Northern India to the South, begun in the reign of Aśoka or earlier, seems to have assumed the proportions of a flood by the fifth century A.D., during the reign of Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya and thereafter having been further reinforced by the freshes received during the reigns of Harsha, Bhoja, etc., from the seventh to tenth centuries passed through several channels to the several countries in the south and Āryanised them all to a greater or less extent. But the main course carrying the greatest volume seems to have reached and emptied itself at the post of Cranganore, the Chera capital and the Mahōdaya City of the south—the offspring or counterpart of the Northern Mahōdaya City of Kanauj—then flourishing with diverse foreign settlements, enterprises, trades and civilizations, and the most suitable centre for receiving and distributing foreign produces brought to the south including the elements or materials of Āryan culture and civilization brought down from the north. When Rāja Rāja the Great subjugated the Chera country by physical force about the end of the tenth century A.D., the latter in return conquered him and his country—the Choḷa kingdom—by her superior cultural force. It was in this way, it seems to me, that the peculiar Āryan institutions of Keraḷa—Chakkiyar-Kūttu and Ārya-Kūttu—had found their way into the Choḷa country by the end of the tenth century A.D. This

generalization or hypothesis is rather vague and tentative and requires further clarification and precision.

It may be admitted in conclusion that in this study I too may have lost my historical sense and balance and over-estimated the past greatness of Cranganore which is my home.

TWO CENTURIES OF WAḌEYAR RULE IN MYSORE (1565-1761)

By N. Subba Rau, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXIV, No. 2, p. 115)

As regards Jainism, it is significant to note that Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar while equally solicitous for its welfare as well, never brought himself under the influence of that religion, as has been alleged.[174] We may point out some instances in this connection. He supported[175] his Jaina minister Vishālāksha Pandit in overcoming the opponents of the latter's religion, and allowed him to conserve Jaina monuments in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa and perform with great *éclat* the *Mastakapūja* to Gommateśvara in 1679. He permitted[176] his mint-master Aṇṇiah to preserve Jainism in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa and to construct a pond (kalyāṇi) there, named after him (*Chikkadevarāyakalyāṇi*).[177] He also made a grant[178] of lands to Sakkare Seṭṭi for the erection of Vimalanātha Chaityālaya, while his own Queens[179] made gifts to monuments in the State.

Under the successors (1704-1761) of Chikkadevarāja, the ideas of the previous period formed part and parcel of a synthetic religious culture. The religious proclivities of the rulers found expression in a greater degree than ever, as can be gathered from the numerous grants at the period. The cults of Śiva and Vishṇu, followed by the rulers and their[180] subjects alike, were at the height of glory and prosperity during the period, while respect for traditions and toleration of other religions continued as before to dominate the minds of the rulers. Krishṇarāja I, in 1723, made a grant[181] of

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174 Wilks, *Mysore*, I, Ch. IV, pp. 107, 220-222 (New Edn.).

175 *Beḷgoḷada Gommaṭeśvara Charitre*, pp. 100-109.

176 *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*

177 *Gommateśvara Charitre*, *loc. cit.*; *E.C.*, II, SB. 365.

178 *E.C.*, IV (2) Ng. 43.

179 *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 23; *E.C.*, IV (2) SR. 305; XII, M.I. 15, etc.

180 See under *Social Life*, next section of this work.

181 *E.C.*, II, SB. 249.

Sarvamānya villages to the *Jinadharma* of Beḷagoḷa, for the worship and festivals of Gommateśvara and the upkeep of a feeding house there. Similarly, grants[182] were made by Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II to Akal Shah, Ataval Shah and the maṭha of Kādir Shah Saheb in 1759-60, for the maintenance of *fakir dharma*.

(*b*) *Manifestation.*—The religion thus evolved during the period was, as a matter of policy, manifested by the rulers in the construction and repair of temples, grants and endowments to maṭhas, agrahāras and gifts to Brahmans and the establishment and maintenance of *satras* (inns for distribution of food) for all classes and communities. We may note the activities in this connection, under different rulers.

Rāja Waḍeyar (1578-1617), according to an inscription,[183] had the *prākāra* of the Ranganātha temple, at Seringapatam enlarged, erected manṭapas in and near it, had gold plating work done on the copper sheet of the pinnacle (*kaḷaśa*) of the temple, had a white horse made of silver, instituted enquiries into the management of temple offerings and laid down rules for the administration of the institution. He made the grant[184] of a village to God Mahābaleśvara;[185] bestowed the village of Nrisimhapura on Brahmans, providing a share for the Garuḍa Vāhana of God Chaluvarāya of Melkote; and gave[186] away Bêirnahaḷḷi to God Rāmachandra of Vahnipura. He also, we are told, paid[187] attention to the temples at Yedatore, Rāmanāthapur, Tirumakūḍḷu Narasipur, Tirupathi, Chāmuṇḍi Hill, Mysore and Nanjangud, making a special endowment[188] (*the Rājamuḍi*—a jewelled crown) to God Chaluvarāyaswāmi at Melkote. His *bhaktavigraha* is to be seen on a pillar in the *Navaraṅga* of the latter temple, with his name inscribed thereon.

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182 *E.C.*, IX, CP. 32, AN. 90; IV(2) KP. 18, etc.

183 *Mackenzie Collections*, Nos. 18, 15, 20, fol. 23-24.

184 *E.C.*, IV (2) Hg. 107.

185 *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 157.

186 *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 116.

187 *Palace History*, pp. 40-41.

188 *M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 58.

Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (1617-1637) granted[189] lands for the service of God Mahābaleśvara, villages to Brahmans and an agrahāra to them, named after him—*Chāmarājasamudra*,[190] besides making grants for the service of God Ranganātha.[191] He is also said to have made pilgrimages.[192] Immadi Rāja Waḍeyar (1637-1638) continued the traditions of his predecessors. Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar (1638-1659) was, we note, famous[193] for his gifts of lands, gold and food. He granted[194] agrahāras to Brahmans in Narasarātpura, Narasarājapura and Kaṇṭhīrava Narasa Nripāmbōdhi—all named after him; granted[195] villages for offerings to God Hanumantha, for building a new maṇṭapa in the central street of Terakaṇāmbi and for the *satra* for daily distribution of food to Brahmans;[196] erected temples to Lakshmī Narasimha and Arkeśvara, with grants thereto;[197] established feeding houses, conducted the Rāmānujakûṭa in Seringapatam and[198] provided for the continuance of the works of merit in *Kāśi*—such as, ceremonies, anointment of Visveśvara and other Gods, illuminations with *Sahasranāma*, offerings, rites, bathing gifts, feeding 100 Brahmans daily, annual allowances to Kāśinātha and bathing in *Māgha* at Prayāga. He also established agrahāras[199] in Śrirangam, Karigiri (Karighaṭṭa), Śri Śailam, Rāmeśvaram and Paśchimaranga (Seringapatam). He is, again, recorded[200] to have given the endowment of *Kanṭhīrava Muḍi* to Lakshmi Narasimha of Seringapatam, arranged for the car festival of that God, constructed a tank (named *Narasāmbudhi*) to raise crops for the service of

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[189] *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 36.

[190] *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 62.

[191] *Mackenzie Collections*, *op. cit.*, fol. 30.

[192] *Chikkadevarāya Vamśāvaḷi*, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[193] *E.C.*, V (1) Ag. 64.

[194] *E.C.*, III (1) Ag. 198; IV (2) YD. 5; III (1) SR. 103.

[195] *E.C.*, IV (2) Gu. 10.

[196] *Chikkadevarāya Vamśāvaḷi*, p. 37; *E.C.*, IV (2) KP. 39.

[197] *Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijayam*, Ch. XXVI, pp. 494-495.

[198] *E.C.*, IV (2) Ch. 42.

[199] *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 103.

[200] *Palace History*, pp. 91-92.

God Śrikanthēśvara of Nanjangud, built towers for the temples of Ranganātha and Gangādharēśvara and given away gifts to Goddess Chāmuṇḍeśvari and the shrines at Tirupati, Melkote and other places.

Devarāja Waḍeyar (1659-1673) performed[201] sacrifices and special worship of Gods (*devavrata*). We are told,[202] he utilized the spoils of his battles for the construction of agrahāras to Brahmans and countless works of charity. He made the great gifts (*shoḍaśadāna*)[203] prescribed in *Hemādri* and other works—gifts such as *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Saptāmbudhi*, *Svarṇatulāpurusha*, *Gōsahasra* and so forth;[204] constructed ponds, wells and tanks, and bestowed many a gift on Brahmans at Śrirangam, Venkaṭaśaila (Tirupati), Yādavagiri (Melkote), Hastigiri (Kānchi), Sētu (Rāmeśvaram), Vāraṇāsi (Benares), Prayāga (Allahabad), Gaya and Seringapatam; established *satras* (feeding houses) in every village, provided for daily festivals in temples and bestowed numerous villages as donations. By his order a maṭha[205] was erected and villages granted as endowments for charity, in Kaḷale by Devājamma, his step-mother. He made a grant[206] to God Mahadeśvara of Moḷagāla,[207] granted villages to *Maṭhādhipathis* (Rāja Rājendra Bhārati and Rāghavendra Bhārati), and[208] to Goddess Chāmuṇḍeśvari, Agastyeśvara, Mallikārjuna, Chandraśekhara and Gaṅgādharēśvara (of Maḷavaḷḷi); granted also[209] villages and agrahāras to Brahmans in Bhērya (also called *Devarājapura*), Munḍūr and Kanṭhīravasamudra, the agrahāra of Devarājapura being filled with supplies for a year—jewels, cloths, milch cows and calves;[210] erected a *dīpamālā*

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201 *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 54.

202 *Mysūru Rājara Charitre, MS. Extracts.*

203 *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 54.

204 *Ibid.*, also XII, Kg. 37.

205 *E.C.*, III (1) Ng. 81 and 56.

206 *E.C.*, IX, KN. 94.

207 *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26; 1917, p. 58, etc.

208 *E.C.*, XII, TP. 106; V (1) HN. 8; XII Kg. 4; TP. 72; III (1) TN. 54; ML. 63, etc.

209 *E.C.*, YD. 43, 54; Hg. 139.

210 *E.C.*, V (1) CN. 155.

pillar for God Chennarāya at Chennarāyapaṭṭaṇa fort and provided for feeding houses. He is also celebrated[211] for his erection of steps to Chāmuṇḍi hills, and for the setting up of the big *Bull* midway in the hill, and for the excavation of a tank known as[212] *Devāmbudhi* (extant of *Doḍḍakere*) in Mysore.

Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar (1673-1704) is also recorded[213] to have freely given away the sixteen great gifts. During his reign, we note,[214] learned Brahmans patronised by him lived in Śriranga, Yadugiri, Anjanagiri, Kānchi, Vikśavana, Sētu, Śankhamukha, Darbhaśayanam, Kumbhakōṇam, Benares, Dwāraka, Jagannātha and Prayāga. He gave prominence[215] to the *Vajra Makuṭi* (Vaira Muḍi) festival at Melkote in the month of Phālguṇa, and inaugurated the *Gajendra* festival there. He erected the temple of[216] Paravāsudeva on the banks of the *Kounḍini*. He established[217] an agrahāra (known as Devanagara, *dvitīyaśataka*, in the Mādalanāḍu for the residence of learned Brahmans,[218] brought the *Varāha* from Śri Mushṇam and worshipped it with great devotion in Seringapatam, erecting there temples to[219] Varāhaswāmi and Krishṇa Mūrti ;[220] set up God Pattābhirāma in Somanāthapur ; granted[221] lands for the worship of God Gōpālaswāmi and Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa ;[222] constructed a magnificent pond at Malavaḷḷi ;[223] erected a *Manṭapa brindāvana* and *Gopālasarasu* pond at Talakad ; [224] made grants of lands to Brahmans and provided for inns. He also erected[225] a *Manṭapa* near *Maṇikarṇikā*, and made

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[211] *Palace History*, pp. 99-100.
[212] *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 14.
[213] *Ibid.*
[214] *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-7 (1674).
[215] *Ibid.*
[216] *Ibid.*
[217] *Ibid.*
[218] *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26.
[219] *Mackenzie Collections*, ff. 54-55.
[220] *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 96.
[221] *E.C.*, III (1) My. 7.
[222] *E.C.*, III (1) ML. 61.
[223] *E.C.*, XII, MI. 15.
[224] *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-7 ; 1908-09, p. 26 ; 1918, p. 58 ; *E.C.*, IV(2) Ch. 138.
[225] *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 23 ; *E.C.*, II, SB. 365.

ponds (*kalyāṇi*) at Melkote and Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa; gave[226] a silver spoon and gold ornaments as offerings to the temple at Melkote; and presented[227] *Padmapīṭha* to the processional image of Varāhaswami. He is also recorded[228] to have made arrangements for the conduct of car festivals and processions of local gods and made numerous endowments and gifts to the deities at the Chāmuṇḍi hill, Nanjangud, Seringapatam, Yeḍatore, Rāmanāthapur, Karīghaṭṭa and so forth.

Kanṭhīrava II (1704-1714) continued the traditions of his predecessors. He built a number of houses[229] for feeding the poor, opened sheds for water at convenient stages on roads, and granted[230] villages for the services of Gods Venkaṭeswara (newly set up in the fort of Bangalore) and Lakshmikānta of Kaḷale, providing for the annual car festival of the latter.

Krishṇarāja I (1714-1732) was, we learn,[231] a devotee of God Nārāyaṇa, and favoured by his *Guru*, Śrīnivāsa Yatīndra. He repaired[232] the ancient temples of Vishṇu—particularly the Lakshmīkānta temple at Kaḷale—by adding to it towers, walls, pavilions, car and vehicles for the procession of the God and provided for special worship. A *nirūpa*[233] addressed to Kaḷale Mallarājayya tells him that an order was passed to employ ten paid servants for guarding the temple and that he was to carry out the order by employing them on a salary of four varahas each, deducting the amount from the tribute he was paying to the Palace. Krishṇarāja also presented[234] a gold ornament to the Belūr temple, bestowed agrahāras[235] with Vrittis on all the classes of Brahmans in Kaḷale (*Apratima Krishṇarājasamudra*), Yadugiri, and Nanjangud;[236] offered a

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226 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
227 *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 57.
228 *Palace History*, p. 140.
229 *M.A.R.*, 1910-11, pp. 55-6.
230 *E.C.*, IX, BN. 118.
231 *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 64.
232 *Ibid.*, also *M.A.R.*, 1928, p. 54, etc.
233 *M.A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 64.
234 *M.A.R.*, 1910-11, p. 55.
235 *M.A.R.*, *ibid.*
236 *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 18.

new car for the festival to God Kīrti Nārāyaṇa ;[237] had the sacred pools of Yadugiri repaired, granted villages for the offerings to God Lakshmīkānta of Kaḷale, and Varadarāja of Kānchi (Hastigiri), besides confirming the previous grants of his predecessors to the latter temple ;[238] and presented a gold-plated umbrella, two silver vessels and a silver-plated *Vāhanam* to Melkote temple.

Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (1732-1734) made[239] a grant to Goddess Chāmuṇḍeśvari. His successor Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II (1734-1766)[240] got formed well-furnished agrahāras (*Nanjarājasamudra*, *Venkaṭarāmasamudra* and *Rāmachandra-pura*), which were bestowed on the Brahmans of various *gôtras* and *sūtras* and *śākhās* by Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya, minister Venkaṭapathayya and Daḷvoy Devarājayya, respectively. He also granted[241] villages to Goddess Chāmuṇḍeśvari, to Gods Nanjuṇḍeśvara, Lakshmīkānta and Somaśekhara and to Abhinava Sachchidānanda Bhārati Svāmi (1741-1767) of Śringeri Maṭha to whom he wrote expressing his pleasure at his proposed visit to Seringapatam and Nanjangud on his way to Rāmeśvaram and at the opportunity thus afforded him of paying homage to Gods Chandramouḷīśvara and Vênugôpāla. He also provided for the maintenance[242] of Kaḷale Chikkayya's temple, satra and Maṭha, by grants of land ;[243] and bestowed agrahāras on Brahmans, named after himself (*Krishṇarāja-samudra*) and his mother (*Devāmbāsamudra*).

(*To be continued.*)

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[237] *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 64.

[238] *M.A.R.*, 1906-07, p. 5.

[239] *E.C.*, IX, Ma. 37.

[240] *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 58 ; *M.A.R.*, 1923, pp. 69-70 ; *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 63.

[241] *M.A.R.*, 1913-14, p. 50 ; *E.C.*, IX, DV. 69 ; IV (2) Ch. 101 ; 1910-11, p. 56 ; 1914-15, p. 64 ; 1923, pp. 41-44 and 1916, p. 72 (*Nirūpas*).

[242] *M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 59.

[243] *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 17 and 18.

IS THE ADVAITA OF ŚANKARA BUDDHISM IN DISGUISE?

By G. V. Budhakar, B.A. (Hons.)

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV, No. 2, p. 176*)

II

The school responsible for this attack follows a kind of realism in philosophy and theism in religion. It is dualistic in outlook and supports unity in diversity. Some modern scholars, even though they differ from this school, join hands with it as far as this charge is concerned. We have examined their position in the first part and shall come to them again in the third part. We have already mentioned the two views of idealism and realism based on the Upaniṣads. The school in question follows the second one and rejects the first. The commentaries of this school on the Upaniṣads and Brahma-sūtras, prior to Śankara, are lost to us. We get some stray references to them in the works of Śankara. He refers to them thus:—

केचिदुपनिषद्व्याख्यातारो ब्रह्मवादिनो । मां. का. भा. 3. 20.

अस्मदीयाश्च केचित् । ब्र. सू. भा. 1. 3. 19.

औपनिबदंमन्या अपि केचित् । बृ. आ. उ. भा. 2. 3. 6.

Many of the extant commentaries are later than Śankara. This school believes as does Śankara that the Brahma-sūtras systematise the teaching of the Upaniṣads. It is, therefore, necessary to see how far Śankara makes the nearest possible approach to the original intention of the sūtras. We have, therefore, to examine his commentary on them and compare it with the commentaries of this school. Bhattabhāskara was the first of this school who came just after Śankara and he was followed by others belonging to the Pāncharātrika school, *viz.*, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vallabha, Nimbārka and Baladeva. Vijnānabhikshu does not belong to this school. All these have their commentaries on the Brahma-sūtras and differ

among themselves as regards the interpretation of the Brahma-sūtras. But all of them differ from Śankara's interpretation of the same. As many of them have read their preconceived ideas into the sūtras, it is difficult to make out their real import. Again, matters are more confounded by the innovation of modern scholarship as it is not serious about religious values and rejects scriptural authority. It subjects these texts to mere intellectual and historical criticism and holds that in the Upaniṣads there are passages which support Śankara but not so in the sūtras ; but this view is unanimously contradicted by the orthodox commentators just now referred to who emphatically assert that the sūtras give the teaching of the Upaniṣads in a nut-shell. If the author of the sūtras is prepared to give the teaching of the Upaniṣads in its entirety and if there are passages in the Upaniṣads that support Śankara, there is no reason why there should not be the passages that can support Śankara in the sūtras especially as the author of the sūtras gives both theistic and absolutistic views. We will show this in the following lines.

He mentions the Māyāvāda in 2. 1. 14. Here all the commentators except Śankara have evaded the implication of the words, "वाचारंभणं" and "एव" from the original Upaniṣadic text. The two words exclude the phenomenon and assert only the Absolute Reality. Śankara properly interprets them while others intentionally connive at them. The Pariṇāmavāda as leading to this Māyāvāda is referred to in 2. 1. 13. In neither of these two sūtras is there any word like "तु" which can show the disapproval of any one of these two views. Both are true and are accepted by the author according to the different stages of religious or philosophical evolution. Śankara here aptly remarks :—

सूत्रकारोऽपि परमार्थाभिप्रायेण तदनन्यत्वमित्याह । व्यवहाराभिप्रायेण तु स्याल्लोकवदिति महासमुद्रस्थानीयतां ब्रह्मणः कथयति । अप्रत्याख्यायैव कार्यप्रपंचं परिणामप्राक्रियां चाश्रयति सगुणेषूपासनेषूपयोक्ष्यत इति ॥

In this way, absolute unity and phenomenal diversity are reconciled as not conflicting but as the latter leading to the

former, *i.e.*, unity in diversity being a step leading to absolute monism. In 2. 3. 7 it is maintained that any change or विकार (परिणाम) is true on the empirical plane only. The Absolute is above any change, because in 1. 1. 13 it is absolutely denied.

In 3. 2. 11 and 3. 2. 16 the Nirguṇa Brahma is mentioned. In 3. 2. 22 there are both the Saguṇa and Nirguṇa aspects of Brahman. The latter is higher than the former and it is the causeless cause. Creation is true in the case of the former. This creation or sport supports theism. For that purpose the lower aspect of the Reality is accepted.

In 1. 1. 30, 4.1.3 and 1. 4. 22 the absolute unity of Brahman and Jiva is treated. In 2. 3. 50 and 3. 2. 18 the individual soul is asserted to be nothing but an illusionary division from the ultimate standpoint. एव in both the cases shows absolute emphasis. The objection in the following sūtras is explained empirically. Both 3. 2. 21 and the first sūtra of the next topic turn again to the subject treated before. In 2. 3. 50 and in the following topic the partial limitation of souls due to plurality is denied. The section (पाद) ends there. The sūtra 2. 3. 50, therefore, remains as the ultimate view of the author. In 2. 3. 33–39 activity is accepted empirically; its absence in 40 is stated absolutely. In 2. 3. 18 and 4. 4. 6 individual souls are taken to be knowledge itself. It is neither the substratum of it as the Vaiśeṣikas say nor without it as the Sāṅkhyas observe. In 1. 1. 30, 1. 4. 22, 3. 2. 29–31, 4. 1. 3 the sūtras stand at the end of the topic (अधिकरण). The subject succeeding 1. 1. 30, 1. 4. 22, and 4. 1. 3 is quite different from that treated in these sūtras. They cannot be connected with anything else and no other meaning can be read into them. This is shown without torturing or evading any word. In 1. 1. 31 the plurality of egos is meant for theistic purposes and not final.

Sūtras 4. 4. 1, 4. 4. 4, 4. 4. 19 refer to the type of absolutism (मुक्ति) that is beyond any change and in which every difference is sublated for ever in the case of individual souls

and the Brahman. There can be no possibility of the divine sport due to distinction as held by the theists; because that is true in the Saguṇa aspect with which is connected the second type of absolutism (मुक्ति) treated in 4. 4. 22, 4. 4. 9, 4. 4. 18, and 4. 4. 21.

Such is the sketch of the salient points in the Brahma-sūtras. It shows that the author gives both the theistic and absolutistic views as true according to the religious calibre of an aspirant. They are not contradictory but complementary. He gives the views of other teachers like Audulomi and Aśmarathya in 1. 4. 21, 3. 2. 28; 1. 4. 20, 3. 2. 27; who support theism and unity in diversity. But these views are given as lower or partial opinions (एकदेशिमतानि). The author gives the view of Kāśakritsna in 1. 4. 22 as the ultimate and highest view. Thus it is clear that the author is giving the thought of the Upaniṣads in its twofold aspect. There is no conflict or divergency between the Upaniṣads and the author of the sūtras. Śankara interprets the theistic sūtras as they are. But the theistic commentators over-emphasize their standpoint and twist the sūtras, which go against their view, to suit their purpose. The first attempt of this kind after Śankara we find in the work of Bhattabhāskara. His avowed object was to attack Śankara as he says thus in his work:—

सूत्राभिप्रायसंवृत्या स्वाभिप्रायप्रकाशनात् ।
व्याख्यातं यैरिदं शास्त्रं व्याख्येयं तन्निवृत्तये ॥

भास्कर. ब्र. सू. भाष्य, Chawkhambha Series.

He supports the lower aspect of the Brahman, accepts Pariṇāmavāda, and follows unity in diversity between the Supreme Soul and individual souls. He calls Śankara a Buddhist in disguise. He remarks that there are some sūtras, which favour monism and others which treat dualism (p. 84; sūtra 1. 4. 21). From this the logical conclusion which he draws is that unity in diversity is the ultimate goal (p. 221; sūtra 4. 1. 3). He relies more on the passages like 3. 2. 25–27 and says that the difference due to limitations is the final truth. He reconciles activity (कर्म) and knowledge (ज्ञान). He says that the interpretation of Śankara is forced and uncalled

for. He is inclined more towards Audulomi and Aśmarathya than towards Kāśakritsna.

To his credit we must say that he is right as far as the psychological (आधिदैविक) standpoint is concerned where unity in diversity (भेदाभेदवाद) is the ultimate outcome and theism is the last appeal. Besides, he is free from the sectarian bias of the Pāncharātrins. As far as this standpoint is concerned there is very little difference between him and them. The main defect with him is that he proceeds with the object of attacking Śankara and not as an independent and comprehensive interpreter. On account of this reason his work has become sketchy and imperfect especially in the case of those sūtras which go against his view.

But the experience of Yogic mystics points to a higher goal

....अभेद एव त्वत्र प्रतिपिपादयिषितो ब्रह्मात्मत्वप्रतिपत्तौ पुरुषार्थसिद्धेः।
शां. ब्र. सू. भा. 2. 3. 47.

The dialectic of philosophers goads them to something that is ultimate and final. Nothing short of that satisfies them. Any halting compromise seems to them to be self-contradictory. Śankara thus remarks:—नित्यनिरवयववस्तुविषये हि विरुद्धत्वमवोचाम द्वैताद्वैतस्य। बृ. आ. उ. भा. 5. 1. 1. Besides, there are passages in the Upaniṣads and sūtras, which cannot be properly and satisfactorily explained unless we follow the standpoint of the absolutists like Śankara. The ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयवाद of Bhattabhāskara is all right for our practical affairs in life. "व्यवहारे तु भाट्टनयः" this opinion of the Mīmāmsakas is accepted by the Vedāntins. But this cannot be reconciled with the highest spiritual experience, where nothing short of actionlessness is possible. Śankara remarks,

तस्मात्सर्वदुःखविनिर्मुक्तैकचैतन्यात्मकोऽहमित्येष आत्मानुभवः।
न चैवमात्मानुभवतः किञ्चिदन्यत्कृत्यमवशिष्यते। ब्र. सू. भा. 4. 1. 2.

Thus we see that this authoritarian or institutional, mystical or personal, and logical or philosophical trio converges to the same goal. This brings us to the standpoint of Śankara. Bhattabhāskara, therefore, cannot be our final guide. He is accepted as a necessary step to the Highest Ideal.

The next important commentator on the Brahma-sūtras is Rāmānuja. He belongs to the Pāncharātrika school. His main object was to support theism with sane thought and to seek, if possible, some Vedic support for his school. For all these attempts he depended on the abridged edition of the original Bodhāyanavritti on the sūtras. For this reason some importance and glamour are in his work. Let us trace the history of his school. In the *Mahābhārata* where different philosophical schools are mentioned, the Pāncharātra is not included in the purely Vedic fold. In the Brahma-sūtras also they are ranked among the systems, which the author wants to attack as opposed to Vedic thought. In *Maṇimekhalai* five Vedavādas, *viz.*, Vedavāda, Brahmavāda, Pramāṇavāda, Vishṇuvāda and Śivavāda, are mentioned but this school is absent. Chandrakīrti, the author of a commentary on the *Mādhyamika-kārika*, mentions it as a separate school on p. 159, ll. 7-8 :—

प्रकृतीश्वरस्वभावकालाणुनारायणजैमिनिकणादकपिलादितीर्थंकरवादनिरासेन ।

(Biblo. Buddhica Edn.)

Here by the word, "नारायण" he probably refers to this school, because in the *Mahābhārata* he is called the first originator of it. Chandrakīrti speaks of Vedic theism thus :—
बुद्धिपूर्वककर्तृकं च पुरुषादिकारणिनो जगदभ्युपगच्छन्तः (p. 100, l. 1, *ibid.*)

In the *Harṣacharita* the Pāncharātra is separately mentioned as quite different from Vedic (Upaniṣadic) and Bhāgavata schools (p. 220, ch. 8, para. 5, *cf.* p. 15 supra). Kumārila in his *Tantravārtika* (1.3.3. 3 and 4) includes it among the schools which are not purely Vedic. The schools mentioned are the Śākya, Sānkhya, Yoga, Pāncharātra, Pāśupata and others. Medhātithi in his commentary on the *Manu-smriti* (2.6) follows him. From all these references, it is clear that Rāmānuja's zealous attempts to prove his school to be purely Vedic were in vain. The moment he tries to defend his position in the Br.-sūtras 2.2.42-45, one is doubtful about the previous history of his school. Madhva goes a step further and asserts a bold and startling truth :—

वेदपांचरात्रयोरैक्याभिप्रायेण पांचरात्रस्यैव प्रामाण्यमुक्तं । मध्व ब्र. सू. भा. 1. 1.3. He states that the authority of the Pāncharātra is far superior to that of the Veda. But this makes his position all the more questionable. In the Br.-Sutras 2.2.42-45 Madhva, Baladeva and Nimbārka have introduced the Śaktivāda to avoid the refutation of their school. Vallabha accepts partial refutation. Vijnānabhikshu is not explicit here but in 1.1.3 of the same he tries to prove that the author supported the Sānkhya and Pāncharātra. His "अविभागाद्वैत" is not different from the qualified monism of Rāmānuja and others. But the introduction of the Śaktivāda in the Br.-Sūtras 2.2.42-45 cannot be accepted on the authority of Śankara and Bhattabhāskara, the oldest available commentators. Moreover Rāmānuja is quite conscious of his weak point. He frankly admits this in his Śrībhāṣya :—

एवमात्मशरीरभावेन तादात्म्योपपादने परस्य ब्रह्मणोपहतपाप्मत्वसर्वज्ञत्वादिगोचरा जीवस्याविदुषः शोचतो ब्रह्मोपासनान्मोक्षवादिन्यो जगत्सृष्टिप्रलयाभिधायिन्यो जगतो **ब्रह्मतादात्म्योपदेशापराश्च श्रुतयः सर्वाः** सम्यगुपपादिता भवन्तीति **काशकृत्स्नीयमेवमतं सूत्रकारः स्वीकृतवान् ।** 1. 4. 22, p. 381, ll. 5–10, Bombay San. Series Edn.

Thus it is clear that his qualified monism is not the ultimate view of the author. This completely knocks off his support. Śivakantha in his *Brahmamīmāmsā* has similar remarks on the same sūtra :—

इदमेव मतं सूत्रकारस्य मतद्वयमुपन्यस्य तद्विरोधेनैतदभिधानाद**नन्यस्याभिधानाच्च** निश्चीयते । But in the commentary on 2. 2. 35 he connives at the refutation of the Pāśupata school, which he follows. He brings in the "एकदेशिनस्तान्त्रिकाः" who are neither meant by the author nor introduced by Śankara and Bhāskara. The Pāncharātrins say that the Brahma-sūtras do not contain the terminology of Śankara *viz.*, "माया, मिथ्या, विवर्त, उपाधि, अविद्या, etc." But if the same question is driven against them can they point out their terms like "व्यूह, प्रकार, चिदचिद्विशिष्ट, etc." in the sūtras? The negative phraseology of Śankara can be traced back to the Upaniṣads like the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Chāndogya*, *Śvetāsvatara* and *Maitrāyaṇiya*.

Now about the Bodhāyanavritti of which so much is made. In *Prapancha-hṛdaya* the following reference occurs:

तस्य विंशत्यध्यायनिबद्धस्य मीमांसाशास्त्रस्य कृतकोटिनामधेयं भाष्यं बोधायनेन कृतम्। तद्ग्रन्थबाहुल्यभयात् उपेक्ष्य किञ्चित्संक्षिप्तं उपवर्षेण कृतम्।

इति उपाङ्गप्रकरणे ॥

We have referred to this extract in the previous pages. Śankara in his commentary on the Br.-sūtras 1. 3. 28 & 3. 3. 53 mentions Upavarṣa with great regard as "भगवान्". Nowhere does he contradict him. In the same manner does Śabara in his commentary on the *Purvamīmāmsā-sūtras* 1. 1. 5 refer to him. If Śankara has great respect for Upavarṣa and if Upavarṣa simply abridged the Bodhāyanavritti, we can say that there was the continuity of thought and interpretation between Śankara and Bodhāyana. Śankara whose view we have mentioned elsewhere is not against such a conclusion. It is true that from the works of Śankara it seems that he had no direct access to the work of Bodhāyana as he nowhere refers to it directly or otherwise. Nor does he throw any light on one Vrittikār Kāṇva Bodhāyana mentioned in the Bhāradvāja Gṛ.-sūtra 3. 11, हि. के. गृ. सू. 2.20.1, बौ. गृं. सू. 3.9.6, बौ. ध. सू. 2.5.27. It is also doubtful whether this vritti was on the Br.-sūtras or any Gṛ.-sūtra. He criticises one Vrittikār but he cannot be either of the two commentators, *i.e.*, Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa. Ānandagiri, therefore, is wrong on the Br.-sūtras 3. 3. 53 (p. 370 Āna. Āsh. Series) when he identifies Upavarṣa with the Vrittikār. It is unnatural to expect that Śankara, who called Upavarṣa "Bhagavān", should severely criticise him. He refers to the same man as the commentator of *Bhagavad-Gītā* prior to Śankara though Śankara is not particular about one and the same man:—

तदर्थविवरणायानेकै र्विवृतपदपदार्थवाक्यार्थन्यायम्
टी. पूर्वाचार्यै र्व्याख्यातत्वात्। वृत्तिकारै र्दर्शितस्तथाऽपि

P. 6, Āna. Āsh. Series.

He is mentioned in *Tai. Up.* Com. Sub-com. p. 68, 2. 5; where Ānandagiri says:—आनन्दमयः परमात्मेति वृत्तिकारैरुक्तं तान्निषेधेन

व्याचष्टे. But while commenting on the Vārtik of the same (pp. 107–108, verses 23–26) he is silent. In the *Chāndogya* Com. on the passage " अत्र आहु: केचित् ", he says to the following effect :—

स्वव्याख्यानं वर्जितदोषं उक्त्वा ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति इत्यत्र वृत्तिकारीयं व्याख्यानं उत्थापयति (p. 116, 2. 31. 1). Again in *Br. Up.* Com. Sub-com. (p. 151, 3rd edn., 1. 4. 10) he observes:—तत्रवृत्तिकृतां मतानुसारेण ब्रह्मशब्दार्थमाह and on p. 152 of the same Bhartṛprapancha is mentioned. But Suresvara in his Vārtika of the same speaks of Bhartṛprapancha only (1. 4. 10, verses 1124–1164, Part II). From all these references and extracts it cannot be said that Ānandagiri depended on any first-hand information. He is, it seems, uncertain about the identification of the Vrittikār. Śankara does not make any difference between a Vritti and a Bhāṣya. In the introduction to his commentaries on the *Chāndogya* and *Kaṭha* he calls them Vrittis. They, on the other hand, are known as Bhāṣyas. Again about the Vrittikār it is doubtful if he refers to one and the same man because Padmapāda, his direct disciple and the first commentator of his Br.-sūtra commentary mentions four such authorities, who are criticised by Śankara. The following extracts refer to them :—

(*a*) इत्यन्यैरपि स्ववृत्तौ वर्णितम् ।

(*b*) तथा च वृत्यन्तरे वर्णितम् (both on p. 58) ;

again on p. 64, .

(*c*) तत्र अन्यैः वृत्तिकारैः ब्रह्मशब्दस्यार्थान्तरमाशंक्य.

(*d*) वृत्यन्तरे तु शेषलक्षणा व्याख्याता । Vol. II, Part I.

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Śabara in his *Purva-mīmāmsā* commentary (1.1.5) says :— वृत्तिकारस्तु अन्यथा इमं ग्रन्थं वर्णयांचकार. After this he gives a quotation. In this Upavarṣa is referred to. It would, therefore, be wrong if we suppose that the Vrittikār meant by him was Bodhāyana. Then there will be anachronism, because Bodhāyana long preceded Upavarṣa. He could not be Upavarṣa also, because he is mentioned in the passage. He might be Devasvāmi or Bhavadās, who, according to *Prapancha-hṛdaya*, are Śankara's predecessors. But this work refers

to their works on the *Purva-mīmāmsā* only. From Śabara, therefore, we cannot get any definite information. Yāmunāchārya, in his *Siddhitraya*, observes thus:—

यद्यपि भगवता बादरायणेन इदमर्थान्येव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि, विवृतानि च **परिमितगंभीरभाषिणा भाष्यकृता**, विस्तृतानि च तानि **गंभीरन्यायसागरभाषिणा भगवता श्रीवत्सांकमिश्रेणापि** ; तथापि **आचार्यटंक**–भर्तृप्रपंच–भर्तृमित्र–भर्तृहरि–ब्रह्मदत्त—शंकर––श्रीवत्सांक––भास्करादि विरचितसितासितविविधनिबंधनश्रद्धाविप्रलब्धबुद्धये यथावदन्यथा च प्रतिपद्यते इति तत्प्रतिपत्तये युक्तः प्रकरणक्रमः ।

Pp. 5–6, Chaukhambha Edn.

If the authorities mentioned are in a chronological order we can say that there were seven commentators on the Br.-sūtras prior to Śankara. Some were Pāncharātrins and the others belonged to some other schools like Bhartṛprapancha and Brahmadatta, who were criticised by Śankara and Sureśvara as pointed out by Ānandagiri and others. Vidyāsurabhi, a commentary on the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* (1. 67) says, " इति केचित् ब्रह्मदत्तादयः ". Ānandagiri on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-vārtika* (Part I, Sambandhavārtika, verse 797) observes:—इहतु ब्रह्मदत्तादिमतेन ज्ञानाभ्यासे विधिमाशंक्य निरस्यते. It has been already stated that Sureśvara mentions Bhartṛprapancha. Both Bhartṛprapancha and Brahmadatta were "ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयवादिनः". According to Ānandagiri, Śankara refers to Bhartṛprapancha twenty-two times (*Brihadāraṇyaka* Com. Āna. Āsh. Series, 3rd edition: p. 2, 1. 1; 152, 151, 1. 4. 10; 187, 1. 4. 14; 190, 1. 4. 14; 208, 1. 5. 2; 236, 1. 5. 18; 316, 2. 2. 2; 324, 2. 3. 3; 328, 2. 3. 6. 1st edition: 345, 2. 5; 396, 3. 2. 13; 424, 3. 4. 2; 427, 3. 5. 1; 534, 4. 3. 7; 586, 589, 4. 3. 22; 594, 597, 4. 3. 24-30; 658, 4. 4. 22; 699, 700, 5. 1. 1).

From these constant and vigorous attacks one would be tempted to assert that Bhartṛprapancha was the Vrittikār. But just now it is shown that Ānandagiri mentions both of them separately in the same context. We have no means to examine his reference, but one thing is certain that Sureśvara makes no such distinction. Bhartṛmitra was a commentator on the *Purva-mimāmsā* prior to Kumārila.

But nothing is known about his commentary on the Brahma-sūtras. Bhartṛhari was the author of *Vākyapadīya*, a grammatical work. He followed the *Śabdādvaita*. Nothing more is known about him. It seems that Bhartṛmitra, Bhartṛprapancha, Bhartṛhari and Brahmadatta might be the four commentators meant by Śankara and criticised by Padmapāda. But one thing which deserves special attention in the above extract from the work of Yāmunāchārya is that both Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa are conspicuously absent. Was it because they did not support his view ? In that case, neither of the two can be the Vrittikār. Such a surmise is strengthened when we come to Rāmānuja, who refers to one Vrittikār. He relies on the Bodhāyanavritti that was abridged by somebody. Can this person be Upavarṣa, whom we know to have done the same work ? But Rāmānuja scarcely refers to him. No scholar has brought any evidence to prove that Rāmānuja depended on him. Vedāntadeśika in his *Tattva-tīka* on the *Śrībhāṣya* says that Upavarṣa is Bodhāyana. But this is disproved by *Prapancha-hṛdaya.* His words are, "वृत्तिकारस्यैव हि उपवर्ष इति स्यान्नाम". He does not make any difference between the Vrittikār and Bodhāyana or Upavarṣa. Yāmunāchārya in the above quotation refers to the first commentator; but does not care to name him definitely as if he does not support him. But we have shown that this first commentator was Bodhāyana. Whether he refers to Bodhāyana or Upavarṣa we cannot say definitely. But judging from the epithets he showers on Śrivatsānkamiśra and Tanka, we can say that he was not so much inclined towards this first commentator as he was towards the two latter. From this we can definitely say that they were Pāncharātrins ; because the first is called "भगवान्" and the second "आचार्य". The first must have been the important guide of Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja in his *Vedārtha-sangraha* (Benares edition Pandit, p 148) refers to the following authorities :—

भगवद्बोधायन–टंक–द्रमिड–गुहदेव–कपर्दि–भारुचिप्रभृत्यविगीत–शिष्टपरिगृहीत पुरातन वेदवेदान्त व्याख्यान सुव्यक्तार्थ श्रुतिनिकरनिदर्शितोऽयं पन्थाः ।

Here all the persons are not necessarily the commentators on the Brahma-sūtras; because he uses the words Veda and Vedānta. Guhadeva, Bhāruchi and Kapardin are Vedic commentators as Devarāja in his commentary on the *Nighantu* says. We have just now come across Tanka as a commentator. Dramida, who is referred to by Madhva, has done the same thing. But the identification of Tanka with Brahmanandi, as observed by Sudarśanasūri in his *Tātparyadeepikā*, is wrong. Nor can this Dramida be identified with the Dravida of Śankara. Both Dravida and Brahmanandi are proved to be completely absolutists. Bodhāyana seems to be a name of mere antiquity to Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja, it appears, had not any direct access to his work. This is clear from the following extract from his *Śrībhāṣya*:

भगवद्बोधायनकृतां विस्तीर्णां ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तिं **पूर्वाचार्याः** चिक्षिपुः । तन्मतानुसारेण सूत्राक्षराणि व्याख्यास्यन्ते ।

From these three extracts it appears that Rāmānuja followed the work of Śrivatsānkamiśra as well as those of Tanka and Dramida. He refers to Dramida in his *Śrībhāṣya* 2. 2. 3. As Rāmānuja is silent about Upavarṣa and as Yāmunāchārya gives prominence to Śrivatsānkamiśra we can safely assert that the abridged edition of the original commentary on the Br.-sūtras, which Rāmānuja followed, was by Śrivatsānkamiśra, who was a Pāncharātrin. But if the Vrittikār, whom Śankara criticises, were to be a Pāncharātrin, Rāmānuja would not have spared pains in defending him against all the attacks. The Vrittikār of Śankara, therefore, was quite a different person. In the following verses, Madhva refers to one Vrittikār on the Br.-sūtras:—

भारतीविजयश्चैव संविदानन्द एव च ।
ब्रह्मघोषः शतानन्द उद्धतश्चैव पञ्चमः ॥ १ ॥

विजयो रुद्रभट्टश्च वामनाख्यस्तथाष्टमः ।
स यादवप्रकाशश्च नवम स्तत्र कीर्तितः ॥ २ ॥

रामानुजस्तथा भर्तृप्रपंचो द्रविडस्तथा ।
ब्रह्मदत्तो भास्करश्च पिशाचो **वृत्तिकारकः** ॥ ३ ॥

तथा विजयभट्टश्च विष्णुक्रान्तस्तथैव च ।
वादीन्द्रश्च तथा पश्चात्ततो माधवदासकः ॥ ४ ॥
ततश्च शंकरश्च स्यादेकविंशतिवादिभिः ।

In this list, there are twenty-one commentators of the Br.-sūtras; but it is not exhaustive as it neither mentions some of the authorities of Yāmunāchārya nor does it speak anything about Bodhāyana or Upavarṣa. We have not got sufficient evidence to identify this Vrittikār with Upavarṣa or Śrivatsānkamiśra.

From this discussion, it follows that the one Vrittikār, to whom Śankara refers, who is criticised by Śankara, on whom Rāmānuja depends, and whom Madhva quotes, is not one and the same person. It is doubtful whether the word Vrittikār has any particular reference as the word vritti has no technical meaning. The question of identification of the Vrittikār as handled by the mediæval commentators like Ānandagiri, Vedāntadeśika and Sudarśanasūri is seriously questionable. Rāmānuja's predecessor who abridged the Bodhāyana-vritti is a Pāncharātrin and not Upavarṣa, since he is shown to be respected by Śankara as an important authority of his tradition. He and indirectly Bodhāyana are favourable to Śankara. Rāmānuja, therefore, loses this last support. From various sources it is proved that his school is semi-Vedic if not purely Vedic. The author of the Br.-sutras does not support him as the final goal. Rāmānuja himself admits this. From the psychological standpoint there is very little difference between his "विशिष्टाद्वैत and औपाधिक-द्वैताद्वैत of Bhattabhāskara though they differ in minor details and methods. Rāmānuja is such an important theistic thinker that all the later commentators of the Br.-sūtras have got very little original to add or to surpass him. Next to Śankara, his influence is so great that he is an important religious personality and his services to the cause of Hinduism are certainly incalculable.

One very important difference between Śankara and the other commentators is that Śankara's system is matchless and unassailable as regards its philosophical depth and subtilty.

He restricts himself mainly to the Śruti for his inspiration and support. His system, therefore, is certainly Śrauta in the full sense of the term. Sane and serious philosophers cannot but welcome his system. But the systems of the other commentators are not pitched on such a high level. They are satisfied with the gross and concrete ideas and images of the Purāṇas and never look into their inner significance. For this they have often to quote the Purāṇas. Their systems, therefore, are Paurāṇika. They are useful for the masses. Both the systems form the full-fledged Hinduism and are complementary. The question, whether Śankara has made sufficient provision for the masses, will be treated later on. But the above intellectual depth and sobriety have made Śankara's system liberal and comprehensive. But on account of this lack the systems of other commentators are narrow and intolerant not only towards others but even among themselves.

(To be continued.)

A NEW HYMN OF JNANA-SAMBANDHA

By T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A., B.L.

I

Engraved on the walls of south Indian temples are found countless inscriptions from which is being reconstructed, with a success which is as great as the labour is immense, not merely the course of political events in south India but also the history of its economic and social evolution.[1] But no south Indian inscription is perhaps more interesting than one found on the walls of the temple to Śiva[2] at Tiru-Viḍai-Vāśal,[3] a village not far from Tiruvālūr,[4] the city which contends with Cidambaram for primacy among the holiest places of what may appropriately be called Tamil Śaivism.[5] Not merely

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[1] This paper is one of the chapters of a book, *Studies in South Indian Saivism*, which I completed in 1926. The book has remained in typescript and I see no early chance of its finding its way into print. I have therefore decided on publishing this paper separately. Except for the omission of a few unnecessary sentences, the paper is published just as it was written in 1926.

I am greatly indebted to Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. Sāminãda-Aiyar for having had the kindness to examine at length my reading of the stanza which I discuss in these pages, and for having approved of it without qualification. I cannot adequately express my obligations to Pandit M. Rāghava-Aiyangar for valuable advice given in the ungrudging way that is characteristic of him. To Pandit S. Sōmasundara-Dēśikar I am obliged for valuable criticism of my reading of the stanza, and I am happy to be able to state that though he had read it differently he has warmly received and accepted the reading that I have proposed.

[2] Known now in this temple by the name, Puṇya-nātha-svāmin.

[3] About a mile and a half south-east of the railway station at Koraḍāchchēri, Nannilam taluk, Tanjore district.

[4] Known in literature as Tiruv-Ārūr (Tiru-v-Ārūr), or, shortly, as Ārūr.

[5] Saint Sundara, in his *Tirut-Toṇḍat-Tohai*, professed himself a devotee unto 'all those who were devoted to the Brahmanas of Cidambaram' (தில்லைவாழந்தணர்தமடியார்க்குமடியேன்), but, when he passed on to mention Tiruv-Ārūr he knew of no limitations of caste and confessed that he was devoted unto 'all those who were born in Tiruv-Ārūr' (திருவாரூர்ப்பிறந்தார்களெல்லார்க்குமடியேன்). 'The Brahmanas living in Cidambaram' (தில்லைவாழந்தணர்) and 'those born in Tiruv-Ārūr' (திருவாரூர்ப்பிறந்தார்) have been enrolled among the saints of this school.

is this inscription a record of a kind rarely met with, being in Tamil verse, nor merely is it a poem of Jñāna-Sambandha whom the followers of Tamil Śaivism consider, not unjustly, the greatest of their canonised saints and the foremost amongst their preceptors, but it is one of those poems which, perhaps late in the tenth century A.D., had been accounted irretrievably lost. Even the temple on the walls whereof this poem had been engraved went to ruin and was shut in by that most effective of barriers,—a natural hedge of cactus. Almost till yesterday a sturdy *pipal* flourished on a side of the *vimāna* of the central shrine, and it kept thrusting its roots into the joints of the wall so pertinaciously that the disintegration of the structure in a few years more was a certainty. Cactus and *pipal* had almost completed their work and people had well-nigh forgotten the antiquity of the temple, when a scholar[6] who is as keen on the scent for the reminiscences of the Saiva saints as he is devoted to the study of the Saiva literature, picked his way into the temple and discovered this inscription. He published immediately a pamphlet[7] in which he announced his discovery and furnished a transcript of the record. The Departments of Archæology and Epigraphy at Madras[8] having come to know of this discovery, the temple has been, for the present, rescued from immediate ruin. We cannot say if ruin, in one form or another, yet hovers over it: the cactus may still choke it up or the *pipal* may yet break it up, or, perhaps, a renovator, more thorough than reverent, may build it anew,–from foundation to spire,—casting out the inscribed stones, and, with them, the associations of the temple with a hallowed past

The inscription,[9] which is in the Tamil language and in the Tamil characters, runs along two prominent walls of the temple,[10] but not to any considerable length, and has for

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6 T. M. Swāminātha-Upādhyāya of Tiruk-Kaḷar, a village a few miles distant from this village of Tiruviḍaivāśal.

7 In 1918 at Tiruv-Ārūr.

8 *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1918, p. 9.

9 *Ibid.*, 1918, No. 8 of 1918.

10 One half occupies the southern wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the other half the west wall of the *mahā-maṇḍapa*.

companions some twenty-five records ranging in time from about 1075 A.D. to about 1250 A.D.[11] It contains no clue to its date but the script in which it is incised may be roughly assigned to the twelfth century A.D.[12]

The inscription has been previously published, twice by the discoverer,[13] and once by another scholar,[14] but two of the lines[15] have steadily baffled them. The readings of these scholars are identical, but, as the reading offered by them is obviously untenable, a fresh endeavour had necessarily to be made to decipher those two lines accurately. The stone has crumbled along those lines, leaving only patches of writing and some indications of writing which are little better than chisel-marks. Had the decay been more thorough the epigraphist would have had no chance whatever and should have left it to the scholar with a turn for poetry to exercise his poetical talents in filling in the blanks, unhampered by epigraphical limitations. Remnants of strokes and curves being, however, still discernible to the practised eye, conjectures at readings are still possible, though the conjectures have inevitably to be governed by the subsisting vestiges of writing. Readings which ignore or do not incorporate the remains of the writing on the stone are bound to be inadequate restorations of the original text. These two lines form a very appreciable portion of a stanza[16] of the poem, which, itself, is no more than eleven stanzas in length. A fresh examination of the inscription was therefore desirable,—indeed, necessary,—if the text was to be settled to the satisfaction of poet and epigraphist.[17]

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11 See *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1918, Nos. 8-33 of 1918.

12 *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1918, p. 149, para 22.

13 By Swāminātha-Upādhyāya, in 1918, as already mentioned, and, again, in a Tamil pamphlet on Śaivism and the Tamil language, *Śaiva-Samayamum Tamiḻ-Pāḍaiyum*, (pp. 43-4), published at Mannargudi, Tanjore district, in 1921.

14 Pandit S. Sōmasundara-Dēśikar, of Tiruv-Ārūr, in the *Śen-Tamiḻ* (1918-9), xvii. (169-172).

15 Lines 14 and 15.

16 The sixth.

17 Visiting the temple twice, first in June 1919, and, again, in December 1921, I studied the inscription *in situ*. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna-Sastrigal, then Madras Epigraphist, had the kindness to place at my disposal, in 1919, two excellent estampages prepared by Mr. G. Venkoba-Rao (later, his successor.)

The scribe has written the stanzas down as if he were transcribing prose; neither metrical feet nor metrical lines are marked off by devices such as spacing out. Though the close of each of the first three stanzas is indicated by a dash, from the fourth stanza onwards the dash gives place to the number of the stanza.

No peculiarities of palæography demand attention, except the shapes of the letters ழ, ழ, ழ and ழ, and these will be considered when we pass on to a consideration of the text. Attention may be drawn here to another feature of some little interest. In doubling வ and த, one letter is written above the line and the other below it. The practice is uniform in doublings of வ, but not so in doublings of த. This method of doubling is evidently due to the scribe being accustomed to write in *grantha* as well as in Tamil. The orthography is not flawless, but the most notable phenomenon is the almost uniform substitution of ந for ன.

The Hymn as Inscribed

1. மறியாரகாததெநதையமமாதுமையொடுமெபிறியாதபெ
2. மமாநஉறையுமஇடமெநபாபொறிவாயவரிவணடுதெநபூமபெ
3. டைபுலகிவெறியாரமலரிறறுயிலுமவிடைவாயெ—ஒவவாதவெ
4. நபெயிழையாவொளிமௌலிசசெவவாநமதிவைததவாசொவிடமெந
5. பாஎவவாயிலுமஎடலாகொடலமபொதுவெவவாயாவமமலருமவிடை
6. வாயெ—களையாரகடலநஞுசமுதுணடவாகஙகைததிளையாரசடைத
7. தீவணணா சொவிடமெநபாகுளையாரமணியுஙகுளிரசநதமுமகொண
8. டுவிளை[1]யாரபுநலவநதிழியுமவிடைவாயெ—கூசததழலபொல
9. விழியாவருகூறறைபபாசததொடுமெ வீழஉதைததவாபறறூமவாசக
10. கதாசசாவிவெண்சாயளையெபொலவீசககளிஅநநமலகுமவிடை
11. வாயெ ௪—திரியும புரமூநறையுமசெநதழலுணணாஎ
12. ரியமபெயததநறவிலலிஇடமெநபாகிரியுநதருமாளிகைசசூழி
13. கைதநமெலவிரியுஙகொடிவாநவிளிசெயவிடைவாயெ ௫
14. கிளளைமொழியாளைஇகழநதவநமுததீததளளிததலைதககணை
15. ககொணடவாரசாரவாமவளளிமருங்குலநெருஙகுமமுலைசசெவவா
16. யவெளளைநநகையாரநடஞுசெயவிடைவாயெ—௬

17. பாததொலிபாரிடமபாடநடஞசெயநாததொலியாநவிலுமமிடமெ
நபாகீததொலியுமகெழு

18. முமமுழவொடுவெததொலியுமபயிலுமவிடைவாயெ எ எணணாத
வாககநஉாததைநெரித

19. துபபணணாதருபாடலுகநதவாபறறுமகணணாவிழவிறகடிவீதிகளதொ
றுமவிணணொகளும

20. வநதிறைஞசுமவிடைவாயெ அ புளவாயபிளநதாநஅயநபூமுடிபாதம
ஒளவாநிலநதெடுமொரு

21. வறகிடமாமதெளவாாபுநறசெஙகழுநீாமுகைதநநிலவிளவாயநறவுண
டுவெணடாாவிடைவாயெ

22. கூ உடையெதமிலாா துவாாடைஉடுபபொாகிடையாநெறியாநகெழு
மிமமிடமெநபாஅடையாாபுா

23. மவெவவழுவறகருளசெயதவிடைபாாகொடியாநழகாாவிடைவாயெ ய
ஆறுமமதியுமபொதிவெணிய

24. ஞாாமாறிலபெருஞசெலவமலிவிடைவாயைநாறுமபொழிறகாழியா
ஞாநசமபநதநகூறுநதமிழவலலவா

25. குறறமறறொரெய

The Hymn in Literary Form

மறியார் கரத்தெந்தை யம்மா துமையோடும்
பிறியாத பெம்மா னுறையு மிடமென்பர்
பொறிவாய் வரிவண்டு தன்பூம் பெடைபுல்கி
வெறியார் மலரிற் றுயிலும் விடைவாயே. ௧

ஒவ்வாத வென்பே யிழையா வொளிமௌலிச்
செவ்வான்மதி வைத்தவர் சேர்விட மென்ப
ரெவ்வாயிலு மேடலர் கோடலம் போது
வெவ்வா யரவம் மலரும் விடைவாயே. ௨

கரையார் கடனஞ் சமுதுண்டவர் கங்கைத்
திரையார் சடைத்தீவணர் சேர்விட மென்பர்
குரையார் மணியுங்குளிர் சந்தமுங் கொண்டு
விரையார் புனல்வந் திழியும் விடைவாயே. ௩

கூசத் தழல்போல் விழியாவரு கூற்றைப்
பாசத் தொடும்வீழ வுதைத்தவர் பற்றும்
வாசக் கதிர்ச்சாலி வெண்சா மரையேபோல்
வீசக் களியன்ன மல்கும் விடைவாயே. ௪

திரியும்புர மூன்றையுஞ் செந்தழ லுண்ண
வெரியம் பெய்தகுன்ற வில்லி யிடமென்பர்
கிரியுந்தரு மாளிகைச் சூழிகை தன்மேல்
விரியுங் கொடிவான் விளிசெய் விடைவாயே. ௫

கிள்ளை மொழியாளை யிகழ்ந்தவன் முத்தீத்
தள்ளித் தலைதக்கனைக் கொண்டவர் சார்வாம்
வள்ளி மருங்குல் நெருங்கும் முலைச்செவ்வாய்
வெள்ளை நகையார் நடஞ்செய் விடைவாயே. ௬

பாதத்தொலி பாரிடம் பாட நடஞ்செய்
நாதத் தொலியர் நவிலும் மிடமென்பர்
கீதத் தொலியுங் கெழுமும் முழவோடு
வேதத் தொலியும் பயிலும் விடைவாயே. ௭

எண்ணாத வரக்க னுரத்தை நெரித்துப்
பண்ணார்தரு பாட லுகந்தவர் பற்றாங்
கண்ணார் விழவிற் கடிவீதிக டோறும்
விண்ணோர் களும்வந் திறைஞ்சும் விடைவாயே ௮

புள்வாய்பிளந் தானயன் பூமுடி பாத
மொள்வா நிலந்தேடு மொருவற் கிடமாந்
தெள்வார்புனற் செங்கழு நீர்முகை தன்னில்
வெள்வாய் நறவுண்டு வண்டார் விடைவாயே. ௯

உடையேது மிலார்துவ ராடை யுடுப்போர்
கிடையா நெறியான் கெழுமும் மிடமென்ப
ரடையார் புரம்வேவ மூவர்க் கருள்செய்த
விடையார் கொடியா னழகார் விடைவாயே. ௰

ஆறும் மதியும் பொதிவேணிய னூரா
மாறில் பெருஞ்செல்வ மலிவிடை வாயை
நாறும் பொழிற்காழியர் ஞானசம் பந்தன்
கூறுந் தமிழ்வல்லவர் குற்றமற் றோரே. ௰௧

The inscription will thus be seen to be a poem of eleven stanzas in praise of Śiva, enshrined in the temple at Viḍai-Vāy, the literary form of the name of the village where the temple stands,—Tiru-Viḍai-Vāśal.

That Tiru-Viḍai-Vāśal was well-known as a *kshetra*, or holy place, sacred to Śiva from about the days of Jñāna-Sambandha

is evidenced by the *Kshēttirat-Tiru-Venbā*, 'the Holy Poem of Sacred Places,' a poem of another saint of Tamil Śaivism, Aiy-Adihal-Kādavar-Kōn, who must have lived before saint Sundara, and therefore before the ninth century A.D.[18] That poem is itself a hymn in praise of places sanctified by association with Śiva and contains a stanza which makes mention of a temple to Śiva at 'Iḍai-Vāy on the southern bank of the Pāṇḍa-Vāy'.[19] The phenomena of word-building and sound-mutation in Tamil would easily account for the name 'Iḍai-Vāy' assuming the form 'Tiru-v-Iḍai-Vāśal'. The principal linguistic facts are these: *Iḍai-Vāy* may be split up into two halves *Iḍai* and *Vāy*; in common speech *Vāy* becomes *Vāyil* and *Vāśal*;[20] a prefix *Tiru-*, 'holy', is generally added as an indication of sacredness, and when the words *Tiru-* and *Iḍai* are brought together, a sound *v*, comes in to help the liaison. Here we have a full explanation of how the ancient name 'Iḍai-Vāy' could have become the modern 'Tiru-v-Iḍai-Vāśal'. It would have been noticed, however, that our inscription speaks, not of *Iḍai-Vāy*, but of *Viḍai-Vāy*. The *v* at the beginning of this name *Viḍai-Vāy* cannot be the product of liaison, for the name occurs in the inscription in that form in portions where rules of liaison cannot operate to bring about that result. We have therefore to accept *Viḍai-Vāy* as an independent form. Do 'Iḍai-Vāy' and 'Viḍai-Vāy', then, refer to the same place? Copyists of manuscripts of the *Kshettirat-Tiru-Venbā* might have been responsible for changing *Viḍai-Vāy* into *Iḍai-Vāy*. For centuries, till the discovery of this inscription, all memory of a *Tēvāram* sung by one of

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18 If Sundara is to be dated in that century.

19 மாண்டுவாயங்காவாமுன்னமடநெஞ்சே
வேண்டுவாயாகிவிரைந்தொல்லைப்—பாண்டவாய்த்
தென்னிடைவாய்மேயசிவனூர்திருநாம
நின்னிடைவாய்வைத்துநினை.—Stanza 7.

20 *Vāy* is a form intermediate between *vāyil* and *vāśal*. The name of this village occurs often in the forms 'Tiruviḍaivāyil' and 'Tiruviḍavāyil' in inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D.; see *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1918, Nos. 9, 12, 18, 20 and 25 of 1918.

the three great psalmodists of Tamil Śaivism in praise of the deity of this place had been lost; copyists who could not, therefore, have been aware of *Viḍai-Vāy* being the correct reading, had some ground for believing that *Iḍai-Vāy* must be the proper one, for in Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-Koṇ's stanza, the phrase *teṇṇ-Iḍai-Vāy* would rhyme more closely than *teṇ-Viḍai-Vāy* to the *niṇṇ-Iḍai-Vāy* of the next verse. That *Iḍai-Vāy* and *Viḍai-Vāy* might refer to the same place could be shown on other grounds as well. There should be *prima facie* no objection to the two forms being considered variants of the same name, for 'Iḍai-Vāy' is said by Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-Kōṇ, to have stood on the southern bank of the Pāṇḍa-Vāy[21] and we find to-day that the place which our inscription calls 'Viḍai-Vāy' does also stand on that river and on its southern bank. Further, we know of no other place along this river which bears a name in any wise similar to 'Iḍai-Vāy'. Could *Iḍai-Vāy* and *Viḍai-Vāy* be, then, names derived from kindred sources?[22] Other explanations, perhaps more probable, are furnished by the accidents of liaison in Tamil. Perhaps *Iḍai-Vāy* came to have *Tiru-*, that is, holy, prefixed to it in consequence of its having been eulogised by Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-Kōṇ. The prefixing of *Tiru-* would convert the name into 'Tiru-v-Iḍai-Vāy'—owing to Tamil rules of liaison, as already explained. Later on, however, this origin of the name having come to be forgotten, it might have been thought that the name was compounded of the two parts, *Tiru* and *Viḍai-Vāy*,—a process of splitting up the name which is equally in consonance with the rules of liaison and word-formation in Tamil.

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[21] This is a branch of a branch of the river Kaveri.

[22] The *viḍai* of *viḍai-vāy* is, in all probability, derived from Sanskrit *vṛshabha* 'bull',—an association which is appropriate to a *Śiva-Kshetra* on account of a bull, Nandi, being Lord Chamberlain to Śiva. The form *iḍai* cannot have come from *vṛshabha*, nor could it have come from *ṛshabha*, which, too, means 'bull' But we have a Vedic word *iḍā* which signifies the "cow-kind" in general, and applies to bulls as well. The Tamil words *iḍaiyan*, 'cowherd', *iḍaic-cādi*, 'cowherd-cast', *iḍaic-cēri*, 'cowherd-hamlet', *iḍaip-payal*, 'cow-boy', and similar words are all derived evidently from this word, *iḍā*. If this conjecture is correct, we have an obvious explanation of how *viḍai* and *iḍai* came to be used as synonyms.

Howsoever the name Tiru-Viḍai-Vāy was evolved, there can be no doubt about the hymn on Viḍai-Vāy having been sung in glory of the Iḍai-Vāy of Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-Kōṉ.

The text of this hymn is easily decipherable on the walls, except in the sixth stanza (lines 14 and 15 of the inscription) where the stone has peeled off considerably. The two scholars who have already edited this inscription have read the sixth stanza thus:—

கிள்ளைமொழியாளைக்கெழுவவாழ்த்தி
கொள்ளைத்தலைதக்கனைக்கொண்டவர்
மள்ளல்நெருங்குமழலைச்செவ்வாய்
வெள்ளைந்நகையார்விளிசெய்விடைவாயே.

From a literary point of view this version is unsatisfactory for at least five reasons. In the last two lines the 'damsels of pearly smile' (வெள்ளைந்நகையார்) are described, aptly indeed, as being 'red-lipped' (செவ்வாய்) and perhaps some charm may be discerned in their talk being called 'babbling' (மழலை), but no appropriateness can be seen in their lips being called 'strong' and 'close-set' (மள்ளல் நெருங்கு). The first two lines, if so read, must be made to mean that Śiva having eulogised 'her of the parrot-speech', Umā, 'despoiled Daksha of his head'. This is not a fairly adequate or correct rendering of the puranic account of the slaying of Daksha by Śiva. What is more, this reading of these two lines does not agree with the pattern which the poet has set for himself in this hymn. If we leave out of consideration the eleventh stanza, in which, as in other hymns, the poet gives us his name and assures salvation to those who chant the hymn, the other ten stanzas are divisible into two groups,— one set of them closing in the second verse of each stanza with the words இடமாம்[23] or இடமென்பர்[24] and another set closing, at the same point of each stanza, with the word பற்றும்[25]. But in this stanza, the sixth, we find that none of these endings, nor one similar to them, is to be found,—if we

[23] See Stanza 9.

[24] See Stanzas 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 and 10.

[25] See Stanzas 4 and 8.

accept the reading offered by those two scholars. But even if we ignore the objection that the stanza, according to this reading, does not conform to the pattern followed in the rest of the hymn, we have a much stronger objection to get over,—that without an ending such as the ones found in the other stanzas, the stanza neither yields sense nor satisfies grammatical requirements. Still another objection is that this reading does not allow of the stanza being scanned in the way in which all the other stanzas can be; there is a limp in the run of the verses,—especially where the verses are wanting both in sense and in grammar.

From a palæographical point of view also the reading is equally unsatisfactory. Characters which stare us in the face have been wholly ignored and spaces where remnants of writing can still be discerned, though with effort, have been passed over as if those were mere blanks. One look at the stone is enough to make it plain that the previous editors have passed by the two areas where the stones are most damaged without attempting to deduce the correct reading. If we may judge by their failure to indicate at least that their reading of those two lines is merely tentative or that some characters are undecipherable, we have to infer that they deny the possibility of any letters having been originally incised in those areas.

(*To be continued.*)

DATE OF "ISHTASIDDHI"—I

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.

THOUGH *Ishtasiddhi* in certain of its ideas is pre-Śankarite in character, there is little doubt that it is, as a work, post-Śankarite in date, it being conceded that it was written by an author who came after Śankara. So it cannot be earlier than 825 A.D., taking that year as the latest for the death of Śankara. As it appears to be modelled on that of Surēsvarāchārya's *Brahmasiddhi* and *Naishkarmyasiddhi* even in regard to its format—it is, like them, divided into eight chapters, each consisting of a number of *Slokas*, with the author's own gloss—it has to be presumed that it was written after that work. Surēsvarāchārya—whether he is identical with Mandana Miśra or not—came next after Śankara and was undoubtedly a *guru* of the *Śringēri Math*. Since he is said, according to the *Śringēri Math* tradition, to have been *guru* for twenty years—he ought to have lived up to 845 A.D. at least. This brings us to the middle of the ninth century A.D. A work written in imitation of another suggests *prima facie* that the latter should have had great vogue. It would seem to follow, therefore, that *Ishtasiddhi* should have come a considerable time after the works of Surēsvarāchārya.

The first definite quotation from *Ishtasiddhi* is in Chitsuka's *Tattvapradīpika*, where he quotes, in connection with the doctrine of Avidya, with which *Ishtasiddhi* is specially concerned, the passage *Brahmaiva svavidya samsarati svavidya cha vimuchchyate*. This passage has been referred back by the commentator Pratyagrūpāchārya to the author of *Ishtasiddhi*.[1] If this be so, then the period of Chitsuka is of some importance for fixing the date of *Ishtasiddhi*. One recent writer has assigned Chitsuka to the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.[2] Mr. Gōpināth Kavirāj has suggested

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[1] See Nirnaya Sāgara Press Edition, 1915 Edn., page 363.

[2] See Mr. T. M. Tripathi's *Ānandagnāna's Tarka Sangraha*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series III, Introduction XX, note 2 (1).

that Śrīdharaswāmi, who admittedly modelled his commentary on the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* on that of Chitsuka's, lived anterior to Chaitanya, whose date it is now agreed to be 1485-1533 A.D., for the latter held Śrīdhara's work in high esteem. If Śrīdhara can be referred back to the middle of the fifteenth century, then Chitsuka might—Mr. Kavirāj opines—be set down "to the end of the fourteenth century".[3] This, however, seems too late a period for Chitsuka. As Hemādri quotes Śrīdhara in his commentary on the *Muktāphala* of Bōpadēva, Śrīdhara must be older than Hemādri, who composed his voluminous work entitled *Chaturvarga-Chintāmaṇi* about 1300 A.D.[4] If Hemādri may be assigned to the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., as well we may, we may have to push back the date of Śrīdhara to a date anterior to the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. As Śrīdhara's commentary on *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is in imitation of Chitsuka's commentary on the same *Purāṇa*, Chitsuka's work must have had considerable vogue by about the middle of the thirteenth century. As time would be required to build up such a popularity, we may have to assign Chitsuka to at least the beginning of the thirteenth century, *i.e.*, at least half a century earlier than Śrīdhara. This inference is confirmed by the inscriptional records referred to below. Mr. Dāsgupta has assigned Chitsuka to a date shortly after Śri Harsha, who lived about 1190 A.D., and wrote his *Khandana Khanda Khadya*, perhaps the most celebrated work on the Vedānta dialectic.[5] Chitsuka not only wrote a commentary on the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, but also an independent work *Tattvapradīpika* (or *Tattvadīpika*) already referred to. A couple of lithic inscriptions found at the Simhāchalam temple in the Vizagapatam District afford ground for fixing Chitsuka's age in the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. One of these records a gift of gold in Śaka 1206 (=1284 A.D.) by Brāhmanadāsapāndya while Chitsuka Sōmayājin was managing

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[3] See *Catalogue of Skt. MSS.* acquired for the Government Skt. Library, Benares, Introduction p. 5.

[4] A. A. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, 431. This work of Hemādri has been edited in the *Bibl. Ind.* His *Srāddha-Kalpa* runs to 1,700 pages in the edition of the *Bibliotheca Indica.*

[5] Dāsgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I. 419.

that temple. The other record registered in Śaka 1142 (=1220 A.D.) a gift of land by Chitsukabhattāraka *alias* Narasimha Muni to the temple.[6] These two records would thus seem to confirm to some extent the views of Mr. Dāsgupta and Mr. Tripathi that Chitsuka belonged to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Evidently Chitsuka lived to be an old man, as the range of these two lithic records well shows. If he was in managerial charge from 1220 A.D. to 1284 A.D. of the Simhāchalam temple, *i.e.*, a period of sixty-four years, then he should be presumed to have lived to be quite old. Even supposing he was but twenty years of age at the time of the earlier record, and lived for a short period after the inscribing of the later record, he may be inferred to have lived to about 85 years of age. This long period would give sufficient time for his disciple Sukhaprakāśa to become the *guru* of Amalānanda (1247–1260 A.D.), the author of *Vedāntakalpataru*, the well-known commentary on the *Bhāmatī* of Vāchaspatimiśra, who has been set down to the middle of the ninth century. It would follow from what has been thus far said, that Chitsuka's quotation from the *Ishtasiddhi* pushes back the age of the latter to the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.

The passage quoted by Chitsuka from the *Ishtasiddhi* is also quoted by Ānandabōdha in his *Nyāyamakaranda.*[7] Ānandabōdha's date, however, is uncertain. Mr. Gōpināth Kavirāj conjecturally suggests that "he might be supposed to have preceded Chitsuka by an interval of fifty years or so", (*i.e.* 1325 A.D., on the basis of the date assigned by him to Chitsuka). He gives no reason whatsoever for this "supposition". If this Ānandabōdha is the same person as the one of that name who was the author of *Pramānaratnamāla*, a treatise on the Advaita system, and the *Śabdanirnayavyākhya* (or *Dīpika* or *Nyāyadīpika*), a commentary on the *Śabdanirnaya* of Prakāśātman, a work elucidating the nature of the valid cognition resulting from *Śabda*,

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6 See *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1899-1900, App. Table A, Nos. 134 and 365 of 1899.

7 See Benares Edition, p. 314.

according to the Advaita view, then he may perhaps have to be assigned to a date later than that assumed by Mr. Gōpināth Kavirāj. For we know that Prakāśātman, the author as well of a commentary on Padmapāda's *Panchapādika*, has been set down to 1200 A.D.[8] If he lived about 1200 A.D., his commentator Ānandabōdha should have to be assigned to a date posterior to him. He may be conjecturally assigned to *circa* 1300 A.D., which would make him an elder contemporary of Chitsuka. I say "an elder contemporary," because Chitsuka commented on the *Nyāyamakaranda* of Ānandabōdha.

From the above, it would seem that Chitsuka is the earliest to have known *Ishtasiddhi* in some form or another. It was evidently a work already famous and studied with care. The inference is, therefore, possible that it should have been well known about *circa* 1100 A.D.—so well known indeed as to be quoted by a writer of eminence like Ānandabōdha and Chitsuka, without naming its author, Vimuktāchārya (? Avimuktāchārya). There is some direct evidence bearing on this point of its celebrity which may be referred to here. Nārāyana Panditāchārya specifically mentions the *Ishtasiddhi* as an important work from which Achyutaprēksha, the *guru* of Ānandatirtha, quoted and taught Ānandatirtha and his fellow students. (See *Madhvavijaya*, Sarga IV, Slokas 44-48.) It is there suggested that Achyutaprēksha's interpretation of the introductory part, explaining the thirty-two points referred to in the work, did not prove satisfactory to Ānandatirtha, who was eventually asked to offer his own explanation of it. This shows that *Ishtasiddhi* was a regular text-book taught in the days of Ānandatirtha and that it had accordingly come to be reckoned as a classic on the doctrine of *ēka-jīva-vāda*, a doctrine which indeed goes back to days long anterior to

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[8] See Dāsgupta, *loc. cit.*, 469. Mr. Hiriyanna assigns Prakāśātman to 1000 A.D. (see *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, 340). If this be so, then his commentator Ānandabōdha should be assigned to a date somewhat later than 1000 A.D.—say *circa* 1050 A.D. If this proves acceptable, then there is nothing out of the way in Chitsuka becoming his—Ānandabōdha's—commentator, between the years 1220-1284 A.D., for which we have indubitable inscriptional records for him.

Śankara. To attain this important position, it should have possessed not merely philosophical excellence, but also a respectable antiquity to recommend it to that position. Nārāyana Panditāchārya, the author of *Madhvavijaya*, was the son of Trivikrama Panditāchārya, who is styled *Kavikulatilaka* in the colophon to his work by Nārāyana Panditāchārya. This Trivikrama Panditāchārya was a contemporary of Ānandatīrtha, and is said to have been defeated by him in a discourse and to have become a follower of Ānandatīrtha. The date of Ānandatīrtha has been fixed with the aid of certain lithic records found at Srikūrman in the Chicacole Taluk, Ganjam District.[9] According to these, he was born in or about 1238 A.D. and died in 1317 A.D. If while he was yet a student, *Ishtasiddhi* was considered a classic fit for exposition to students in *maths*, it might be presumed to have been in existence as such for a long time anterior to it. This brings us back to, say, *circa* 1100 A.D., *i.e.*, a century anterior to the student days of Ānandatīrtha. It may be, if anything, even older than that and 1050 A.D. may not be altogether too fanciful a date for the work.

Among the later writers who mention *Ishtasiddhi* are Madhusūdhana Sarasvati, author of *Advaitasiddhi*[10] and Jnānōttama, who wrote the *Ishtasiddhi Vyākhya*, a commentary on *Ishtasiddhi*.[11] This latter work is also known as *Ishtasiddhi Vivarana* and is quoted under that name by Ānandānubhava, the author of *Padārthatattva*.[12] Madhusūdhana Sarasvati has been placed by Gōpināth Kavirāj, in the middle of the sixteenth century.[13] Mr. Dāsgupta states that Madhusūdhana came after Dharmarājadhvarīndra, author of *Vedānta Pāribhāsha*, whom he assigns to about 1550 A.D.[14] As regards Jnānōttama, he describes himself at the beginning of his

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9 *M.E.R.*, 290 of 1896.

10 *Madras T.C.*, IV. B. No. 3453, pp. 5148-9.

11 *Madras T. C. of Skt. MSS.*, IV. 1. A. No. 2971, p. 4309.

12 *Madras T. C.*, IV. 1. A. No. 2981, p. 4327; *Madras T. C.*, IV. 1. B. No. 3350, pp. 4990-91.

13 *Loc. cit.*, p. 4.

14 *History of Indian Philosophy*, I. 420.

work as a native of the village which had become famous as "Mangala in the Chōlamandala". He says his father was his *guru* and that he read all the *Darśanas* under him. The village "Mangalam of Chōlamandala" mentioned by him may be the "Mangalam" referred to in a couple of lithic records found at Sikkil in the Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District. One of these is an inscription found on the west base of the Kola Vāmana Perumāl temple at Sikkil. The inscription registers the fact that the temple was caused to be built in stone—evidently it was reconstructed in stone—by one Ayappillai, who is described as a "native of Mangalam".[15] Evidently at the time of this record "Mangalam" (of the Tanjore District) was a well-known place. The Kola Vāmana Perumāl temple has on it another record which is one of Lakkanna Dannāyaka, "Lord of the Southern Ocean" and dated in Śaka 1366, Rudhirōdgāri (1444 A.D.). This seems to show that the place continued to be important in Vijayanagar times as well. It will be seen that Ayappillai's reconstruction took place before Lakkanna's record. Apart from that, Mangalam should have been well known even in Ayappillai's time. This fact enables us to identify it with the "Mangalam" mentioned in a record of the tenth year of the Chōla King Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvana Chakravartin Kulōttunga-Chōladēva (Kulōttunga-Chōla II). This inscription registers the fact that the members of the assembly *Rāja-Rāja Brahmamangalam*, a *Brahmadēya*, in Tiruvārur-Kurram, a sub-division of Geya Mānikka Valanādu, being assembled in the *mantapa* called Dēvāśriyan (*i.e. Dēvāśraya*), exempted from taxes certain lands belonging to the Tiruvārur temple.[16] The particulars mentioned in this record yield for it the date Monday, 30th November 1142 A.D.[17] The "Mangalam" of this record has thus to be located in the neighbourhood of Tiruvārur (modern Tiruvālur) in the Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, whose beautiful

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15 *M.E.R.* 101 of 1911.

16 *M.E.R.*, No. 533 of 1904.

17 *E. I.*, XI. 289.

temple of Śiva is famous all through the South of India. Jnānōttama, who speaks distinctly of his native village "Mangalam" as "far-famed in the Chōla Kingdom", should have belonged to this Brahmadēya in Tiruvālur, not far away from the Chōla capital, being only 15 miles west of Negapatam. Sikkil is to-day a Railway Station on the Tanjore-Nagore section of the S. I. Ry. It is next to Negapatam and only four miles from the latter town. Tiruvālur is ten miles from Sikkil, and Tanjore is 34 miles from Tiruvālur Junction. There are other places of the name of "Mangalam" —one for instance in the Salem District but that would be in the Kongu country; and there is a Mangalakurichchi (called in olden days Perunkarunai Chaturvedi–Mangalam) but that again would be in the Pāndya country. Hence the identity of the "Mangalam" mentioned by Jnānōttama with the Brahmadēya in Tiruvālur seems well founded. Since Jnānōttama says that it was "far-famed" during his time, it is possible he lived during the time it was in a flourishing state. This may be set down to a period not far away from the fall of the Chōlas or about the middle of the fourteenth century. The interval between 1050 and 1100 A.D., the probable date of *Ishtasiddhi* and 1331 A.D., when the Imperial Chōlas ceased to exist as a ruling power and the first dynasty of Vijayanagar kings came on the scene, would have rendered possible a resuscitation of interest in Vimuktāchārya's work to necessitate the writing of a commentary explaining, if not restating, its teachings. There was the greater reason for this reinforcing of the *Ishtasiddhi* standpoint, because it was exactly during this interval of time (1050 A.D. to 1331 A.D.) or near about, that six other commentators on the *Brahma-Sūtras* had arisen in the land and attacked almost every vital point of view in the *ēka-jīva-vāda* position as propounded by Śankara. These were the following arranged in the chronological order:—[18] Bhaskara (*circa* 1000 A.D.) from the Bhedābheda

[18] The grounds on which this chronological order has been arrived at are discussed at some length in my edition of the *Srīkara Bhāshya*, now in the Press.

point of view; Rāmānuja (*circa* 1140 A.D.) from the Viśiṣṭādvaita point of view; Ānandatīrtha (1238 A.D.) from the Dvaita point of view; Nimbārka (1250 A.D.) from the Dvaitādvaita point of view; Śrīkanta (1270 A.D.) from the Śaiva Viśiṣṭādvaita point of view; and Śrīpati (*circa* 1400 A.D.) from the Bhedābhedātmaka point of view. This array of great writers who took a view different from Śankara's, shows how necessary it was that the old teachings contained in the *Ishtasiddhi*, perhaps one of the most brilliant expositions of the old *ēka-jīva-vāda* doctrine, should be driven home afresh by a commentary on it written by one who was evidently a profound master of it. It is significant that Jnānōttama styles Vimuktātman as "*Nru Kēsari*," "man-lion," an euphemism for an invincible writer, as great as a writer on the *ēka-jīva-vāda* doctrine as Vishnu in his Narasimha incarnation proved himself to be over the demon Hiranyakasyapu.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS
No. XLV

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Lhota Naga Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the Flat Head of the Spotted Owlet, and of the Small Size of the White-faced Wagtail and of the Hodgson's Pied Wagtail.]

THE Spotted Owlet (*Athene Crama*, Blyth) is found throughout the peninsula of India, from the Punjab, Baluchistan and Sind *to Assam and Kachar*, and from the base of the Himalayas to the extreme south; but it is not found in Ceylon, though it was obtained by Hume from the island of Rāmeswaram. It is also common in the Irrawaddy Valley from Prome upwards, and probably throughout the drier tracts of Burma.

This bird, on account of its semi-diurnal habits, its noisiness, and its fondness for human habitations, is the best-known owl in India. As a rule, it does not ascend the hills not does it frequent the forests. It remains on trees growing in cultivated tracts of the countryside, especially in gardens. It commonly roosts and breeds in the roofs of houses. It feeds principally on insects and partly on mice, shrews, lizards or small birds. Its usual call is a double note; but it keeps up a continual chatter at times, particularly in the evening after sunset. Long before dusk, it comes out from its hiding-place to perch on a pole or fence or telegraph-wire.

The White-faced Wagtail (*Motacilla leucopsis*, Gould) is small in dimensions being 8 inches long, while its tail measures 3·60 inches in length. During the winter, it visits the eastern portion of the Empire *from Assam down to Central Tenasserim*. To the west, it is found in Nepal and in the plains of Mirzapur. It is also found in the Andaman Islands. This wagtail is also found throughout Eastern Asia where it breeds in Eastern Siberia and China.

The Hodgson's Pied Wagtail (*Motacilla hodgsoni*, Blyth) also visits, during the cold weather months, the lower ranges of the Himalayas from Kashmir *to Assam, extending through the*

Khasi Hills, Kachar and Manipur to the Salween District of Tenasserim.

The Lhotas are a branch of the Naga race and belong to the Mongoloid family of human kind. They live in the Naga Hills of Assam and Eastern India, in which regions the three birds, namely, the Spotted Owlet, the White-faced Wagtail and the Hodgson's Pied Wagtail, described above, are found during the winter months. Consequently, the Lhotas are familiar with these three species of birds and their physical peculiarities. They have, therefore, fabricated the undermentioned ætiological myth to account for the flat head of the Spotted Owlet and the small size of the Whitefaced Wagtail and the Hodgson's Pied Wagtail :—

Long, long ago, about the time that the Great Darkness came upon the earth, all the birds (for in those days the kinds of birds were not so different as they are at the present day), met in council to decide as to how night should follow day. With one accord, they called on the owlet (most likely the Spotted Owlet) to give his opinion in the matter. Thereupon the Spotted Owlet said: "Let there be nine days' darkness and nine days' light." "No, no," said all the other birds, and smacked the Spotted Owlet on this side of his head and on that. It is for this reason that, to the present day, the Spotted Owlet has a flat head.

Then all the birds said: "Who will speak now?" On this, the wagtail (most likely, the White-faced Wagtail and the Hodgson's Pied Wagtail) said: "Listen to us. Then we will speak. Let us make darkness and light alternately, day by day." "Yes, yes," said all the birds, and stroked the wagtails all over their bodies. The White-faced Wagtails and the Hodgson's Pied Wagtails used, at that time, to be as big as village-cocks. But by reason of the fact that all the assembled birds stroked them so much, they are, at the present day, so small in size.*

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* *Vide The Lhota Nagas*, by J. P. Mills, I.C.S. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., pp. 196-97.

From a careful study of the foregoing ætiological myth, we find that—

(1) The Lhota Nagas are keen and careful observers of nature.

(2) They are familiar with the Spotted Owlet which lives in their country, and have, therefore, noticed its peculiar bodily feature, namely, its flat head.

(3) They are also acquainted with the White-faced Wagtail and the Hodgson's Pied Wagtail, both of which visit their country during the winter months. Consequently, they were struck by the small size of these two birds.

(4) As the Lhota Nagas are a primitive people and live on a low plane of culture, they are ignorant of the laws of biology, which regulate the formation of the bodily features of birds and beasts. In consequence of this, they were unable to hit upon the real scientific causes from which originated the Spotted Owlet's flat head and the two Wagtails' small bodily size. They, therefore, invented the aforementioned myth to account for the origin of the bodily features of these three birds.

(5) Just as many other savage peoples think that there is hardly any difference between human beings on the one hand, and beasts and birds on the other, the Lhota Nagas also have the same sort of mentality and labour under the impression that birds can act and speak like human beings. They have, therefore, described the birds as meeting in council, discussing the subject-matter in hand, and deciding it by taking the opinions of each of the assembled birds.

(6) Most likely, the Lhota Nagas have the custom of physically punishing a member of their community, who may give an opinion which is not acceptable to the other members of their tribe.

(7) Similarly, the Lhota Naga mode of appreciating a person who gives an opinion which is accepted by other members of their community, appears to be the practice of stroking or patting his body.

(8) There is a tradition current among the Lhota Nagas, which narrates that, in very ancient times, a Great Darkness overshadowed the earth. Most likely, this is a reminiscence of a complete eclipse of the sun which caused the earth to be enveloped in complete darkness. The Lushai-Kuki clans living in the hills to the east of Assam have also a similar tradition. These peoples think that the solar eclipse is caused by reason of the fact that a ghostly being named the *Awk* devours the sun and that, on one occasion, this being so completely devoured this great luminary that a Great Darkness overshadowed the earth.

(9) The wagtails' decision that light and darkness should daily follow each other is quite in accordance with astronomical theory according to which the sun is believed to shine above the horizon for 12 hours and to disappear therefrom during the remaining 12 hours of the day. This shows that the uncultured Lhota Nagas have an inkling of astronomical theory about the causation of day and night.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS
No. XXIII

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

[On a Thado Kuki Folktale about the Metamorphosis of a Sorceress into a Plantain-Tree or Banana-Tree.]

The Plantain-tree (*Musa paradisiaca*) and the Banana-tree *M. sapientum*) are called in Sanskrit *Kadalī*, in Bengali *Kalā*, in Hindi *Kelā* and in Tamil *Vashaippazham*. This fruit-tree is widely cultivated throughout India but especially in the regions bordering the seashore. The fruit of the former (*M. paradisiaca*) is eaten fresh when ripe; and that of the latter (*M. sapientum*) when it is cooked. There are many kinds of each differing in size and flower. The flowers of both the species of *Musa* are eaten as a vegetable. This curry of the Banana-flowers is called in Bengali *mochārghanṭa*. A fine fibre may be obtained from the stems of this tree, which is, however, inferior to the Manilla-hemp (*Musa textilos*) in the manufacture of rope and cordage. But it can be utilized for manufacturing into paper, for which the leaves are suited. The tree bears fruit only once, after which it is cut down and either used as a fodder or thrown away. In Bengal the pith of this trunk is called '*Thor*' and cooked into curries. A black dye is obtained from the rind of the unripe fruit of some varieties. An alkaline ash is procured by burning the dried leaves and leaf-stalks of this tree which can be used for washing clothes with in lieu of fuller's earth. The flowers of this tree (*mochā*) are considered cool and astringent and are considered as a very beneficial food in cases of diabetes. Its root is a very useful fodder.

The Thado Kukis or the Thados are a Mongoloid people who dwell, in scattered communities, in certain portions of the North Cachar Hills, the Naga Hills, the Manipur Kingdom, and the Chin Hills and the Somra State, both of which localities are in Burma.

The Thado Kukis, no doubt, cultivate the Plantain-tree (*Musa paradisiaca*) and the Banana-tree (*M. sapientum*) which figure in their folklore. They narrate the following interesting folktale which describes how a sorceress, when killed, was metamorphosed into a plantain-tree :—

Once upon a time, there lived a spiteful bully who used to wear a full-blown flower in his hair, and a modest and kind-hearted lad who preferred to wear, in his hair, a bud only. The two young men went out to court a girl named Ashijowl. While going to the house of this intended bride, the bully maltreated those whom he met on the way while the kind-hearted lad behaved well and courteously to them. The girl rejected the overtures of her bully-suitor who was sent out with contumely. But the modest and kind-hearted suitor found favour with her, and, with the assistance of the animals whom he had defended, performed the impossible tasks which Ashijowl's parents called upon him to do.

Then the successful suitor and Ashijowl were married. While the former was taking the latter home, a wer-lioness or a sorceress who had, by her magical powers, metamorphosed herself into a lioness, met them on the way, and, having treacherously devoured the bride Ashijowl, took her place without her husband knowing of it while a fruit-tree sprang from Ashijowl's blood.

The bridegroom plucked a fine fruit from the top of this tree and, bringing it home, placed it in a safe place.

While the husband and her false bride went out to work in the fields, Ashijowl would emerge from the fruit and tidy up the house.

One day, however, while Ashijowl was cleaning up the homestead, her husband suddenly came into the house, and, seeing her, caught hold of her. Having heard from her the whole story of how the wer-lioness had treacherously killed her and taken her place, *the infuriated husband killed the metamorphosed sorceress from whose corpse sprang up a plantain-tree, and whose severed head was changed into a stone.*

In spite of warnings, Ashijowl tried to pluck a leaf from the plantain-tree which devoured her again. But her husband rescued her by cutting down the plantain-tree in the inside of which he found his wife in a miniature shape.[1]

From a study of the foregoing Thado Kuki folktale, we find that :—

(1) The Thado Kukis are great believers in the arts of magic and sorcery.

(2) They also believe that some of them become so proficient in these arts that, by means of the potency of their magical spells, they can metamorphose themselves into the shapes of lionesses and endow themselves with the blood-thirsty nature of these beasts.

(3) They also believe in the existence of the vegetation-spirit which dwells in the blood and flesh of human beings. From Ashijowl's blood sprang a fruit-tree of which the name has not been given. While from the wer-lioness's corpse sprang the plantain-tree or the banana-tree.[2]

(4) The Thado Kuki folktale of Ashijowl bears a strong similarity to the Angami Naga and Lhota Naga folktale entitled Hunchibili.[3] In the former story, the heroine Ashijowl is treacherously killed and metamorphosed into a fruit-tree ; while, in the latter also, the real heroine—the God's daughter—is treacherously murdered and changed, first into a bamboo-plant and, secondly, into an orange-fruit.

(5) The incident of the heroine Ashijowl's emerging from the fruit, during the absence of her husband and his false

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[1] For the folktale see "*Notes on the Thado Kukis*" by William Shaw (Assam Civil Service), published in *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (N.S.), Vol. XXIV (1928), No. 1, pp. 106-107.

[2] For a fuller discussion of the belief in the existence of the Vegetation-Spirit, see my article entitled: "*On Two Dusan Ætiological Myths about the Paddy-Plant*" which has been printed in *Man in India* (published from Ranchi), Vol. VI, pp. 140-49.

[3] For the folktale of Hunchibili, *vide The Angami Nagas* by J. H. Hutton, London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1921, pp. 280-82.

wife, and doing the household work and the subsequent discovery of this transformation by her husband, bears a striking similarity to closely parallel incidents in the Angami Naga folktale of Hunchibili.[4]

(6) The Thado Kuki folktale illustrates the moral truth that virtue will triumph over wickedness at last and that treachery and murder cannot go undetected for a long time.

[4] For similar incidents in the folklore of the Santals of the Santal Parganas, the Lepchas of Sikkim and the American Indians, see my papers entitled : " *The Dog-Bride in Santali and Lepcha Folklore* " (published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September 1928) and " *Further Notes on the Dog-Bride in the Santali and Lepcha Folklore* " (published in *J.B.O.R.S.* for September to December 1929).

CORRESPONDENCE

ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE,
Bombay, 1st December 1933.

TO

THE SECRETARY,
MYTHIC SOCIETY,
BANGALORE.

SIR,

The Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, which I had the honour to attend as a Delegate of your Society, was held at Warsaw, the capital of Poland, from the 21st to the 28th of August 1933. Above six hundred scholars from practically all over the world gathered at Warsaw to discuss the most diverse historical topics, to study the most varied historical problems, to communicate to each other their successes in research, their hopes for the future, their enthusiasm and their optimism. Naturally Poland gave the largest contingent of scholars, but Italy was the first of the foreign nations in sending a representative delegation to the Congress. Ninety-four Italians were present. When I boarded the International Express "Rome-Warsaw" in Vienna in the evening of the 19th I found that all my fellow-travellers and all those who were filling up the coach were Italians. When we entered the Polish frontier on the following morning, the Custom authorities had no work in examining our luggage. At the magic phrase "*Nous sommes Congresistes*" that unpleasant affair was at once eliminated. There were also numerous delegations from France, from England and from America; from the East we were four: two delegates from Egypt and two from India—the writer of these lines and one of his old students, Mr. H. V. Nunes, M.A.

The meetings and the sections of the Congress were held according to detailed programme without any hitch or difficulty, thanks to the marvellous organization of the able Secretary, Dr. Thaddeus Manteuffel and a band of University students of both sexes, his helpers. There were twenty-eight

sections dealing with as many historical aspects under which the 452 papers or communications sent to the Congress were grouped. There was a section on Oriental History to which most of the contributions sent from India were allotted.

It was a pity that only two delegates from India were able to attend the Congress. India arouses a tremendous amount of enthusiasm and curiosity among the Polish people. We had to pose several times in the streets of Warsaw at the request of students and press reporters, and on the last day of the Congress we had the satisfaction of seeing our portraits sold in all the corners of the city, in two of the most popular papers of the capital. We were proud of being introduced to Mrs. Helena Willman-Grabowska, a Polish lady who is teaching Sanskrit in the University of Crakow, and who read a paper on the *Political Ideas of Aśoka's Time*, being a short commentary on Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*. We had also great pleasure in meeting Miss Iva Grueber, a young girl who is studying Sanskrit in the University of Lwow, and who reads Hindustani, as a result of her private study during her leisure hours. Another girl, a student of the University of Warsaw, has formed a study circle among her fellow-students in order to study the history of India and her present political and social problems.

The papers submitted to the Congress which dealt with Indian subjects were the following :—

T. K. Joseph (Trivandrum) .. *The Saint Thomas Traditions of South India.*

Helena Willman-Grabowska (Crakow) .. *The Idea of the State in Ancient India.*

William Coelho (Bombay) .. *Greek Influence on the Coast of Karnataka.*

Hasmukh Sankalia (Bombay) .. *Mahāyāna Buddhism in the Bombay Presidency.*

Edward A. Pires (Bombay) .. *Who were the Rulers of Pātaliputra before the Guptas?*

Henry Heras, S.J. (Bombay) .. *The Pallava Monarchs, Founders of the Religious Architecture in the Tamil Country.*

A. Appadorai (Madras) .. *Irrigation in South India in the Middle Ages.*

Alfred Martineau (Paris) .. *Parallelism between Dupleix and de Bussy.*

George M. Moraes (Bombay).. *Christian Leanings of the Mughal Prince Dara Shukoh.*

T. K. Shahani (Bhavnagar) .. *Edmund Burke on the British Imperialism in India.*

Hedwige Nunes (Bombay) .. *Jesuit Sources of Indian History.*

R. Subba Rao (Rajahmundry) *The Administrative History of the Eastern Gangas in the Eleventh Century A.D.*

H. N. Sinha (Nagpur) .. *Indo-Aryan and Indo-Islamic Polity.*

D. F. Colaço (Bombay) .. *Culture and Art at the Court of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore.*

Adrian Duarte (Karachi) .. *Piracy in the Reign of the Emperor Aurangzib.*

S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar (Madras) .. *The Value of Tradition in Indian Historical Research.*

The two Indian delegates were invited together with all the British subjects to some refreshments at the British Embassy on August 25th, and were kindly entertained by Mr. Gordon G. M. Vereker, Chargé d'Affaires, in the absence of the Ambassador.

Finally, I am glad to inform you that after talking with the President and Secretary of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, I have great hopes that soon we shall be able to found a Committee of Oriental History under the auspices of the International Committee.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. HERAS, S.J.

REVIEWS

Saarda

(The Tale of a Rajput Maid)

BY D. M. GORWALLA

(Price As. 10.)

THE annals of Rajasthan are a veritable mine of Rajput romance and chivalry. *Saarda* is a tale of a Rajput Maid as the title itself says and Mr. Gorwalla has rendered it in simple English verse. Without going into the details of prosody, we would at once say that such publications will be very useful for students of social history.

M. V.

Abhidhana Vasthu Kosha of Nagavarma

EDITED BY A. VENKATA RAO, B.A., L.T.

and

PANDIT H. SESHA AYYANGAR

(Madras University Kanarese Series No. 3. Price Rs. 3-8-0.)

THE Madras University is to be congratulated on the publications of its various departments which have been appearing at quick intervals and all of which bear on them the hall-mark of original research and scholarship.

Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar in his ' Karnataka Kavi Charite ' speaks of two Nagavarmas, one of the tenth century and the other of the twelfth century A.D., and he ascribes "Vasthu Kosha" to Pandita Nagavarma who lived about 1145 A.D. The authors of the work under review conjecture that Nagavarma must have been twenty-five years of age in 1150. Three manuscripts, *viz.*, two from Mysore and one from Upper India, have been collated in the preparation of this work ; but the one from the North is believed by the editors to be nearer to the original. The work has been creditably produced with a comprehensive index and an appendix containing variant readings. A glossary of difficult words may be added in a succeeding edition.

M. V.

Catalogue of Wall-Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia and Sistan

COMPILED BY FRED. H. ANDREWS, O.B.E.

(*Government of India Publication. Price Rs. 5-6-0 or 8s. 9d.*)

SIR AUREL STEIN'S expeditions to Central Asia in 1906-08 and 1913-16 and the great and valuable hoards of Fresco, Mural and other wall-paintings brought by him to India are well known as well as his work on the results of these expeditions, 'Serindia', 'Innermost Asia' and 'Ruins of Desert Cathay'. All the paintings date from the early centuries A.C. and the earliest of them goes back, perhaps, to the late Parthian or early Sassanian times. The care, trouble, anxiety and expense incurred in removing these slabs from the walls, packing them, their safe conveyance to India along all sorts of tracks on camels, yaks and the like, opening them after arrival at the destination, their mounting on glass sheets with aluminium backs can be easily imagined. It is great satisfaction that they are all now safely housed in the Delhi Museum. Mr. Fred. H. Andrews has given the finishing stroke to Sir Aurel's great work by compiling an exhaustive catalogue of these paintings, for which he deserves our sincere congratulations.

M. V.

Indian History for Matriculation

BY K. P. MITRA

(*Macmillan & Co., Ltd.*)

PRINCIPAL MITRA has included the most recent researches in Indian history as well as the present constitution in the publication under review. It is difficult to say how far theory problems relating to India's past or recondite details bearing on modern administrative problems form a necessary detail for study in the S.S.L.C. and Matriculation classes. While exceedingly profitable for discussions in debating societies, these should, we think, be properly excluded from a text-book intended for a Secondary Course. The book under review, however, is not merely that though intended as such. It is a very useful handbook for a student of Indian history and the author's views are expressed

on many an intricate problem with great care and moderation. The illustrations are not only numerous but instructive.

In the earlier chapters, his views may, in the light of further discussions, require some modification. The book from the tenth chapter onwards gives a connected history of India from Harsha to the present day. We are glad to find that a new method in teaching Indian history has been adopted in this book by attempting to present a continuous narrative to enable the reader to gain a proper perspective. By courtesy of the "Statesman" has been included a map of India showing over twenty European States superimposed on the Indian map, probably with a view to illustrate the oft-repeated statement that India is a continent or sub-continent equal in bulk to Europe *minus* Russia.

S. K.

Bhasa Kavi

BY A. R. KRISHNA SASTRI, M.A.

(*Karnataka Sangha, Central College, Bangalore*)

EVER since his foreword to the Kannada translation of *Svapnavāsavadatta* (Bangalore Karnataka Sangha) some years ago, Prof. Krishna Sastri has been collecting material relating to the mysterious Sanskrit playwright Bhasa and his works. A quarter of a century of strenuous research has fairly established that the author of all the thirteen Trivandrum plays of Ganapathi Sastriar must have been one and the same person, who is Bhasa.

In the able introduction has been analysed all the material available on the subject and placed before the public in a thoroughly understandable form interspersed with discussions, opinions and conjectures. Pandit Ganapathi Sastri's early view that Bhasa belonged to the fifth or sixth century B.C. has been accepted by some scholars and disputed by others who are inclined to place the thirteen dramas between the seventh and the tenth centuries A.C. Prof. Krishna Sastri's date for Bhasa is about the third century A.D. on the fairly convincing ground that Bhasa must have been posterior to Aśvagosha and anterior to Kāḷidasa. The rest of the book is devoted to a critical study of the thirteen dramas themselves. Svapnavāsavadatta, Pratimānātaka, and

Pancharātra are dealt with in separate chapters while the one-act plays and miscellaneous plays occupy one chapter each. We congratulate the author and the Karnataka Sangha on this excellent publication which is a lucid contribution to the extant literature on Bhasa.

M. V.

Katyayanasmrti

OR

Vyavahara (Law and Procedure)

BY P. V. KĀNÉ, M.A., LL.M.

(*Reprint from the "Hindu Law Quarterly", Bombay. Price Rs. 4.*)

HINDU Law has latterly been attracting considerable attention particularly with reference to inheritance and succession. Gains of learning, the order of succession, the sister and the sister's son, Strīdhana and the woman's estate have undergone and have been undergoing considerable modification if not under the judge-made law at least under the enactments of the legislature. These are calculated to reflect as far as possible the growing tendencies of modern times and to keep as far abreast of the present-day requirements as possible.

Mr. Kāné has done well to reprint his articles in the *Hindu Law Quarterly*, Bombay, on Vyavahāra, its law and procedure of Kātyāyana Smṛti. Kātyāyana represents the high watermark of Smṛti literature and judicial procedure and the substantive laws of contract, inheritance and the like. His age and his importance in ancient Hindu Law deserve a separate treatment as he comes next only to Nārada and Bṛhaspati amongst Smṛti writers of law and procedure. Several verses of Kātyāyana indicate his adoption of Bṛhaspati as a model and an author entitled to the highest respect. In his introduction, Mr. Kāné considers the relations between Kautilya and Kātyāyana and on the ground of advanced general jurisprudence, rules of procedure and substantive law found in it regards Kātyāyana as considerably later in date than Kautilya. Even comparing Kātyāyana's work with modern jurisprudence, it is considered that there are startling modern tendencies indicated in some of his rules, such as those regarding the contents and

characteristics of good plaints and written statements, the evidence of witnesses and documents, the doctrine of constructing *res judicata* and the like. Dating Kātyāyana as more or less a contemporary of Justinian we may say, with the late Sir Henry Maine, that the most celebrated system of ancient jurisprudence began as it ended with a code and compare Kātyāyana Smṛti with the Institutes of Justinian. It is interesting to note that Kātyāyana like the most modern reformers, perhaps, was the greatest Indian champion of the rights of women to their property, thus differing in this respect from Justinian under whose *codex mulierum est tutela*, women who looked to protection to parents in childhood, to husbands in youth and to children in extreme age were not entitled to own separate property and continued under perpetual tutelage. But under Kātyāyana, not even the husband nor even the son had any power over her peculiar wealth, Sandāyika, over which she had absolute power of disposal even as regards immoveable property and if they deprived her of it they were liable to be fined. An English woman had to wait to earn this freedom till the last days of the nineteenth century, under the several married women's property acts. It is generally considered that a Hindu living under the joint family system with recourse to an adoption could not make a will, but Kātyāyana was somewhat modern even in this respect, for he provided that the son or other heir was liable to deliver or pay the promised gift made by the deceased for a religious or charitable purpose even after the death of the promiser. Hence it follows that human reason all over the world reaches fundamentally identical solutions of practical problems when untrammelled by the dead weight of long forgotten scriptural authority or hide-bound judge-made law.

The text is excellently printed with footnotes; the translation is clear and contains ample references and the several appendices form a useful addition to the work for which the author deserves our best congratulations.

S. S.

Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā—Part II

(*Published by the Indian Research Institute of Calcutta. Price Rs. 1-8-0: 2s. 6d.*)

Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā—Maṇḍala I

(*Published by the Vedic Research Institute, Poona. Price Rs. 12.*)

THE first part of Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā was noticed in the *QJMS* for October 1933 ; with the present part begins also the publication of translations into English, Bengali and Hindi of Sāyaṇa's Introduction to his commentary on the Ṛgveda. Footnotes which explain technical terms like *sampradāya*, *stotra*, *śastra*, *nyāya*, *lakṣaṇa*, *pramāṇa*, *ātmāśraya* and so on, are added for the benefit of the lay reader. An adequate estimate of the value of Sāyaṇa's Introduction as a permanent contribution to Vedic studies is hardly possible within the compass of a review: but judged even from the modern standpoint, one who approaches the Vedic problem will marvel at Sāyaṇa's exposition and solution of the several questions raised therein.

At a period of political turmoil and religious disturbances when people evinced little interest in the already obsolete sacrificial cult of the Veda and when the very foundation of indigenous culture was being rudely shaken by the social and political upheavals in the land, Sāyaṇa and his brother, that far-sighted statesman and scholar, Mādhava, brought out under their auspices the various commentaries and original works expounding and popularizing the various branches of knowledge, including besides literature and philosophy, even the technical sciences like medicine and astronomy. They gathered around them a large band of learned scholars who devoted themselves ungrudgingly to this task of reviving the country's interest in its great heritage. On a similar occasion in our history, the great work begun by the savants of the West is continued by our own scholars, and of the bodies interested in it, the Indian Research Institute of Calcutta and the Tilak and Bhandarkar Institutes of Poona occupy a foremost place.

We welcome in this connection another edition of the Ṛgveda

text with Sāyaṇa's commentary published by the Vedic Research Institute (of the Tilak Mahāvidyālaya), Poona. The book is in a way a reprint of Max Müller's, the second edition of which appeared in about 1890. The Editorial Board has taken advantage of the opportunity to collate fresh MSS. of the text and of Sāyaṇa's commentary in particular and offer a cheaper edition of that great work. Authentic publications of works from which the versatile commentator quotes have also been of help while the Oxford and Bombay editions have provided the mainspring. A brief list of *variæ lectiones* at the beginning illustrates the nature of the principles of editing followed. Readings different from those adopted by Max Müller have been noted and sometimes justified on specific grounds. Some errors in the text of the commentary have also been pointed out—*e.g.*, 'मन्त्राभिधानात्' is a quotation introduced by the verb सूत्रयाति the subject of which is भगवान् जैमिनिः. But it actually occurs in Śabaraswāmin's commentary on Jaimini's Aphorisms and not among the aphorisms themselves. The editors seem to have indeed exercised great care in verifying the statements in the commentary by referring to their original sources. Why *Grantha* and *Malayālam* readings have not found favour with the editors is not satisfactorily explained. But their importance is by no means affected as they have been noticed in the footnotes and as a discussion on the similarities and differences in the MSS. is hoped to be done later on. One wonders in passing whether no MSS. of either the text or the commentary are at all accessible in Nepal which, we learn, has lately been not unwilling to co-operate in such useful attempts. While the printing and general get-up of the volume are satisfactory, it is desirable that some more care was bestowed on the prefatory notes and on the errata. One consistent system of diacritical marks may be followed. (The elision of the final अ, so common in the pronunciation adopted in the North need not, we think, have persisted in transliterating Sanskrit words like Mandal for instance.) Though these are very minor things, with a little care bestowed upon them, they help to make any publication attractive.

In an eloquent foreword, the President appeals for 'an

exhaustive word-hunting' in the Veda. "It is dangerous to follow tradition," he declares, "even the tradition established by European scholars, as these latter have based their interpretation often on the authority of the ancient Indian commentators." What the President means is not clear ; let us hope that he does not advise the rejection of tradition altogether. One may see with advantage what Max Müller has to say on the value of tradition for interpreting the Veda. (See for example pp. xlii-xlv, Vol. I, 2nd Edn.)

A study of Vedic literature is confronted with many a difficult riddle to solve. Questions like the human authorship of the Veda, its simple yet enigmatic poetry, the cult of the sacrifice, the social orders, above all, the import of the immortal Upaniṣads—are things to baffle human intellect for ever. Considerable progress in solving these problems was, however, made in the last century owing to a great extent to the labours of Western scholars. The new era in Sanskrit learning inaugurated by their advent into the field was characterized by a vigorous search for MSS., by descriptive catalogues of MSS., by a systematic publication of works and by comparative studies in grammar, philology, mythology, religion and the like. On the other hand, stereotyped native scholarship, restricted to a few intellectuals, came to be narrowed down to the study of a few subjects like grammar, logic and metaphysics whose subtlety and technical perfection are commemorated in aphoristic literature. Vedic studies in particular meant mere recital of the texts—though we must thank this system as it has preserved the texts intact—so much so the Vaidik merited the somewhat uncomplimentary appellation of a छान्दस. Here and there erudite scholars could be found as in every age everywhere. But, in general, continuity of tradition (*sampradāya*) was seriously hampered. The intervention of the West naturally justified itself in the exploration of some fields that were buried under the *débris* of centuries. It cannot be denied too that a great freedom was exercised by some scholars over there in interpreting their new material. In their passion for 'unprejudiced' treatment of the subjects, they failed to discern the meaning of the systems peculiar to this country. But one

thing remains clear that work of the proper kind still remains to be done in a large measure. It behoves the new generation of scholars here to make common cause and, benefiting if possible by methods of study enunciated by the West, try to interpret to ourselves and to the world the glory or mystery of Ancient Literature.

H. L. H.

EDITORIAL

WE congratulate the following on the respective distinctions conferred on them: Mr. S. Hiriannaiya, Retired Revenue Commissioner—Rajasevasakta of the Ganda Bherunda Order; Mr. R. Narasimhachar, Retired Director of Archæology in Mysore and one of our Vice-Presidents—Mahamahopadhyaya; and Mr. B. Krishniengar of Secunderabad —Rai Saheb.

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We heartily felicitate the President and Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the celebration of the 150th Anniversary of that Society on the 15th of this month at Calcutta. It was on the 15th January 1784 that Sir William Jones founded the Society under the name of "The Asiatick Society". The name was later changed to its present designation probably to distinguish it from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Asiatick Society's junior by thirty-nine years. The Bengal Society which is the parent of all the sister societies established all over the world for research in Oriental Learning is doing magnificent work and its issues of 'The Journal and Proceedings' bear ample testimony. We wish the 'Asiatick Society' renewed success in centuries to come.

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In his admirable address to the Members of the American Oriental Society, Professor Nathaniel Schmidt discussing the problems concerning the origin of some of the great Oriental religions makes a brief survey of all recent discoveries in the fields of archæology, epigraphy and allied subjects inasmuch as they pertain to a study of the historicity of religious teachers. He then selects a group of religious founders consisting of Moses, Zoroaster, Buddha, Laotse and Jesus and deals exhaustively with the available material about the supposed existence of each one of them. While it must be admitted that no strictly contemporary record about the existence of any of these founders as a human being has so far been brought to light, it cannot be asserted that the absence of these can be taken as proof positive to altogether

deny the existence of these persons if not at the traditional dates at least at some other time. Prof. Schmidt maintains that an unbiassed investigation has already been able to discover traces of still earlier traditions of such a character as to enhance the probability that in all these cases there stands in the background a distinct human personality, however dimly seen, and different from later conceptions.

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No. 25 of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute is practically the first of the posthumous works of the late Shams-ul-Ulama, Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi who passed away nearly a year ago. The Qisseh-I-Zartûshtiân-I-Hindûstân and the article on Zarathustra and Zoroastrianism in Macoudi's *Kitab* of the tenth century A.C. are worth a study not only by the adept Parsi but more by students of comparative religion and history. A good deal of Sir Modi's works are still in manuscript and their publication is awaited.

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Mr. K. A. Krishnaswamy Iyer in the course of a short article on "The System of Ramanuja" in the *Philosophical Quarterly* for October 1933, sums up: "Sankara's position is explained. Madhva and Ramanuja give no satisfactory reason for the existence of real evil in a real world created by a real Merciful God. Ramanuja was a great and a good man. He whole-heartedly worked for the cause he espoused. If he had been free from the trammels of a sect, his high intellect and lofty views might have enabled him to produce a system more perfect and less obnoxious to criticism than the one with which his name must be associated for generations without end."

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A very important document relating to the reign of Akbar from his birth to about 1579-80 was discovered some years ago in the State Library of H. H. the Nawab of Rampur. This, however, is only a fragment of the work of Tarikh-i-Muhammed Arif Qandahari often quoted. Mr. Sri Ram Sharma gives a detailed table of contents of the reign of Akbar dealt with in this fragment in the *J.R.A.S.* for October 1933. Students of Indian

history will be grateful to H. H. the Nawab of Rampur if the work is published in its original form with an English translation thereof. No better person could undertake the work than Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar who is said to have taken a transcript of the manuscript.

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In the same journal we would invite reference to two more articles: "The Origin of the Aryan Gods" by A. B. Keith and "An Interpolation in some Manuscripts of the Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī" by M. B. Emeneau of Yale University.

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The following are a few details about Hinduism in Ceylon at the present time from an article by Swami Jagadiswarananda in the *Prabuddha Bharata* for November 1933:—(1) Though Ceylon is well known as an ancient seat of Buddhist thought and culture, Hinduism is no less dominant in the island. (2) Hindus in Ceylon are followers of four prominent Saivite saints of India. (3) They are practically the worshippers of Pillair or Ganesh and Kandaswamy or Kartikeya. (4) The pre-historic temple of Muniswara Siva at Chilan has a lure for the Hindus and the Buddhists alike. (5) The Sinhalese folk songs and folk dances have close affinity with those of the Hindus. (6) Many of the Sinhalese ancient customs, rituals and observances are of Hindu origin. The article in question is worth a perusal from an ethnological point of view also.

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Man for October 1933 contains a descriptive article on "The Coracles of South India" by James Hornell. These are manufactured in varying sizes according to requirements; and in the mode of construction, also, there are slight differences. Every little thing that is observed which to the local man may seem quite the ordinary custom, if promptly contributed to some journal, will help the anthropologist and the historian of social life and its development a great deal.

Books received during the Quarter ending 31st December 1933.

Presented by :—

Government of Mysore—

Mysore Hospitals and Dispensaries—Report for 1931-32.

Mysore Government Stationery Depot—Report for 1932-33.

Mysore Government Press and Book Depot—Report for 1932-33.

Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad—

Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society—1919-20.

Do. do. July 1916.

Guide to Ajanta Frescoes.

Guide to Ellora Cave Temples—by James Burgess.

Rapport Préliminaire sur l'Interpretation des Peintures et Sculptures d' Ajanta—by A. Foucher.

Shitāb Khan of Warrangal (Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 9)—by Hirananda Sastri.

Gavīnath and Pālkīguṇḍu Inscriptions of Asoka (Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 10)—by R. L. Turner.

Paktal Inscription of the Reign of the Kākatīya Gaṇapatidēva (Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 4)—by L. D. Barnett.

Government of India—

Census of India, 1931—Vol. I.

Do. do. Vol. II.

—by J. H. Hutton.

Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture (Archæological Survey of India, N. I. Series, Vol. XLVII)—by R. D. Banerji.

Bhandarkar Institute, Poona—

The Report for 1932-33.

Mahabharata, Facc. 7—by V. S. Sukhthankar.

University of Madras—

Abhidhana Vasthu Kosha of Nagavarma—by A. V. Rao and H. S. Ayyangar.

Unadisutras in Various Recensions—by T. R. Chintamani.

The Calendar—Vol. I, Pt. I.

Do. do. II.

Sir Charles Todhunter, Mysore—

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, IV Series, Vol. XV.

Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II—by Edward Perroy.

Mr. S. K. Narasimhaiya, Bangalore—

Three Years in Tibet—by Ekai Kawaguchi.

History of China for 1912 : 52 cartoons—by 'Valdar' and others.

Progress Bookstall, Mysore—

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ಚಂದನ ಕಾವ್ಯಮಾಲೆ.

ತುತ್ತೂರಿ.

—All by G. P. Rajaratnam.

Shrine of Wisdom, London—

The Classic of Purity.

The Author—

Saarda—The Tale of a Rajput Maid—by D. M. Gorwalla.

Purchased—

Veda of Black Yajus School, Vol. I.

Do. do. II.

(Harvard Oriental Series Nos. 18 and 19)—by A. B. Keith.

Printed at The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City, by T. Subramania Aiyar, Superintendent.